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HISTORY

PETRA

SEARCH FOR THE
ANCIENT OASIS

MACARTHUR
FORGING THE GENERAL

**BOOK OF
THE DEAD**
EGYPTIAN GUIDE
TO THE AFTERLIFE

INQUISITION
THREE CENTURIES
OF SPANISH TERROR

**ALEXANDER
IN INDIA**
THE LIMITS OF EMPIRE

PLUS

- **ÖTZI: A PREHISTORIC WHODUNIT**
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The first time I saw Petra was at the movies. I eagerly watched as Dr. Henry “Indiana” Jones and his father rode through a dim desert canyon on their quest for the Holy Grail. As the Joneses emerged from the darkness, rose-colored light flooded the theater. A towering stone edifice with tall columns stretched high above them. Petra’s ancient majesty lit up the big screen like no place I had ever seen.

But Petra is more than just a pretty face. Its grand appearance is equally matched by its fascinating, complex history. This city of stone once thrived at the crossroads of two great empires, but then Petra fell into obscurity until its location was lost. Hundreds of years later, a 19th-century Swiss scholar risked his life to find it. His pursuit of the hidden oasis is one of history’s great adventures, filled with intrigue, excitement, and discovery.

The quest to uncover the past yields these kinds of amazing stories. It can take place in any number of settings—from desert canyons and ancient ruins to quiet libraries and dusty archives. This issue marks my first as editor of *National Geographic History*, and I’m thrilled to be joining you on this journey to know more about the past. It’s a quest that’s as exciting to me as any Saturday at the movies.

Amy Briggs
Amy Briggs, Executive Editor



PHOTO: ANETTE GÖTZ/AGE FOTOSTOCK



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National Geographic History (ISSN 2380-3878) is published bimonthly in January/February, March/April, May/June, July/August, September/October and November/December by National Geographic Partners, LLC, 1145 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Volume 1, Number 6. \$29 per year for U.S. delivery. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. **SUBSCRIBER:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 62138, Tampa, FL 33662. In Canada, agreement number 40063649, return undeliverable Canadian addresses to *National Geographic History*, P.O. Box 4412 STA A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3W2. We occasionally make our subscriber names available to companies whose products or services might be of interest to you. If you prefer not to be included, you may request that your name be removed from promotion lists by calling 1-800-647-5463. To prevent your name from being made available to all direct mail companies, contact: Mail Preference Service, c/o Direct Marketing Association, P.O. Box 9008, Farmingdale, NY 11735-9008.

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Hagia Sophia
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FLAG OF FEAR. THE STANDARD OF THE SPANISH INQUISITION





DEATH CHAMBER
A reconstruction at Mexico's Museum of Sultepec-Tecoaque shows how a body was positioned. Remains at the site bear signs of ritual sacrifice.

INAH



ART ARCHIVE

DIVIDE AND RULE

The son of minor Spanish nobility, Hernán Cortés sailed for the New World at age 19, in 1504. After spending several years in Hispaniola and Cuba, he commanded an expedition in 1519 to explore Mexico. Cortés would topple the Aztec Empire in 1521, bringing Mexico under Spanish control.

CAPTURED FOR SACRIFICE

Tecoaque: “The Place Where They Ate Them”

A new dig in Mexico reveals the grisly fate of 550 people seized in 1520 by the Acolhua, allies of the Aztec and enemies of Spain.

Archaeologists with Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History have solved a mystery: the ultimate fate of a group of travelers taken prisoner by the Acolhua in 1520. Hernán Cortés, who led the conquest of Mexico in 1520, recorded the capture but not what happened to the prisoners. A dig begun in August 2015 has shed more light on the gruesome details of their imprisonment and the last months of their lives.

In June 1520, a Spanish-led caravan of conquistadores and their allies was captured by the Acolhua, a local people who were allied with the Aztec. Cortés had sent the convoy from the coast at Veracruz to the Aztec imperial capital of Tenochtitlan, which was then in rebellion against the Spanish invaders.

The Acolhua took the group to a city named Sultepec, which was later renamed Tecoaque. The 550 prisoners included Spaniards and peo-

ple of African, Mesoamerican, and Cuban descent. Reports say that there were about 50 women and 10 children. By March of the following year, not a single one was alive. But how they died was unknown.

The Bones Will Tell

Previous digs initiated at Tecoaque centered on its religious life, including its temple dedicated to Mictlantecuhtli, the Aztec god of the dead. The August 2015 dig turned attention to examining the



INAH

THE WALLS OF TECOAQUE (above) surrounded a religious hub in Mexico's central kingdom of Texcoco. In 1428, Texcoco, then under Acolhua control, joined forces with the Aztec, creating a powerful alliance. Following the sacrifice of a Spanish convoy taken prisoner in 1520 to the deities worshipped in Tecoaque's four temples, the city's residents fled Spanish vengeance. Pottery found in one of the cells (below) suggests the Acolhua tried to hide evidence of the captives' presence in Tecoaque.



INAH

prisoners' living conditions, the ways they perished, and the people who held them.

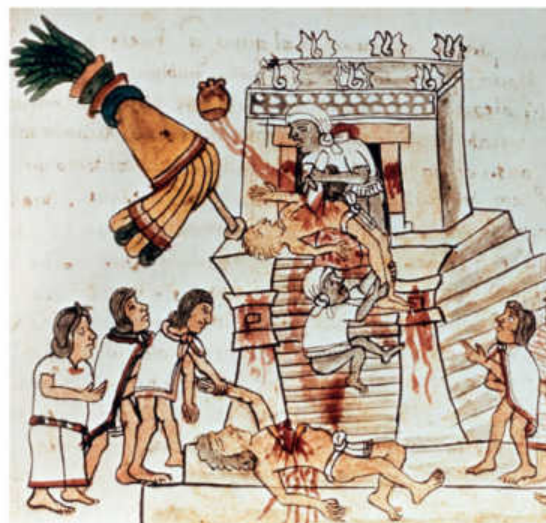
The excavation revealed that Tecoaque was hurriedly converted into a huge make-shift jail to hold the captives, who were ritually sacrificed over a matter of months. The site supervisor, archaeologist Enrique Martínez Vargas, believes that priests selected a

victim every few days to secure divine protection against the Spanish.

At the site, archaeologists found ceramic figurines with faces bearing Spanish and indigenous features. They theorized that these objects played a part in the sacrificial ceremonies. Skeletons found in the prison cells bore signs of ritual sacrifice as well as

THE CRUEL CALENDAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

ABSORBING RITUALS from other regional cultures, notably the Maya, the Aztec placed great emphasis on ritual and ceremony when conducting their religious rites. Over the months of their captivity, the hostages at Tecoaque were sacrificed according to the complex seasonal calendar. It is thought that some had their hearts extracted during *Panquetzaliztli*, the principal feast dedicated to Huitzilopochtli, god of the sun, held in December. Following the sacrifice, skulls would have been deposited in the skull rack known as the *tzompantli*, or displayed in the form of trophies in the settlement's living quarters.



VICTIMS' HEARTS WERE CUT OUT DURING SACRIFICES TO THE GOD OF THE SUN AND WAR, AS SHOWN ABOVE IN THE CODEX ZOUCHÉ-NUTTALL, ONE OF FEW SURVIVING DOCUMENTS FROM THE MESOAMERICAN ERA.

ORONZALBUM

traces of cannibalism. Marks consistent with flesh being cut away from the bones were found. But the meaning of the city's name, Tecoaque, may be the strongest support for the cannibalism theories. When translated, the name means "the place where they ate them."

Spanish Vengeance

When Cortés learned of the slaughter at Tecoaque, he dispatched his lieutenant, Gonzalo de Sandoval, to

exact revenge. Many of the Acolhua were hunted down and killed, and their city was razed. Evidence at the site suggests the Acolhua tried to hide traces of the sacrifices as they fled from Sandoval. In several cisterns and jail cells, archaeologists found articles thought to have belonged to the prisoners.

In August 1521, the Aztec Empire fell, and Cortés became governor of Mexico. The fate of the convoy was a mystery for almost 500 years.

Confucius: A Noble Legacy Endures

As China was breaking apart, Confucius vainly strove to bring it together through virtue. He may have lost the battle in his lifetime, but his philosophy of statecraft colors Chinese society to this day.

From Outcast to Revered Philosopher

551 B.C.

Confucius is born near the city of Qufu, in the Chinese state of Lu. The son of a high-ranking military man, he has a difficult childhood after being orphaned.

497 B.C.

Strict morality and rampant political corruption causes him to resign as Minister of Justice. He leaves Lu with several disciples.

484 B.C.

After 13 years of traveling throughout China, Confucius returns home at the age of 68. He continues to teach his disciples.

479 B.C.

He dies at the age of 73. His disciples spend many years gathering his sayings and ideas, which are compiled in *The Analects*.

Confucius is perhaps China's most well-known philosopher and teacher. For more than two millennia, his teachings have exerted a profound influence on spiritual and political life in China and around the world. Confucianism has been described as many things—a philosophy, a political doctrine, a religion, and a school of thought. It may be best understood as a comprehensive way of life that embraces an intense reverence for the past, a strong desire for learning and self-improvement, and a belief that all people—whether noble or common—can live virtuously.

Humble Origins

In life, Confucius's name was K'ung Ch'iu. Later in life, after he became a master, he came to be known as K'ung Fu-tzu, meaning "Master K'ung." Confucius is the latinization of his Chinese name, which was brought to Europe by a Jesuit named Matteo Ricci (1552–1610).

In 551 B.C., he was born near the city of Qufu, in the state of Lu (in the

present-day province of Shandong). Little is known about his childhood. The best source of information is the *Lun Yu* (called *The Analects* in English), a compilation of Confucius's teachings and sayings. He was orphaned at a young age and worked as a manual laborer.

After marrying at age 19, he started a career in government in the state of Lu. He worked his way up to become a district civil servant and was later named Minister of Public Works. He finally rose to Minister of Justice, a mid-level position that Confucius planned to use to reform the way government did its job.

Importance of Ritual

When Confucius became Minister of Justice, China was undergoing an era of political and social instability. The influence of the imperial Zhou dynasty was weakening while small warring dukedoms were gaining power. The turbulent time became known as the Chunqiu—Spring and Autumn—period (722–481 B.C.).

Witnessing a revolution in Chinese society, Confucius urgently advocated for policies that he felt would reestablish social order and harmony. His recipe was, on the surface, simple: a return to the

To avoid abuses of power, Confucius called for strict respect toward Chinese ancestral rites.



BRONZE HU. USED AS A WINE VESSEL, SHANG DYNASTY (1765–1122 B.C.)
TOMB OF FU HAO, ANYANG. ART ARCHIVE



STATESMAN, SAGE, AND SENSUALIST

DESCENDED FROM a noble family that had fallen on hard times, Confucius became a civil servant in the state of Lu. Here he led the life of a lower nobleman, learning the six arts: rituals, music, archery, chariot racing, calligraphy, and mathematics. Confucius was not just seen as a sage but as a man of statecraft and action: an expert horseman, hunter, and fisherman. Despite his reputation for austerity, he described himself as passionate, capable of losing his taste for food after hearing a piece of ancient music, and expressing deep loss over the death of one of his disciples.

THIS 18TH-CENTURY PORTRAIT OF CONFUCIUS WAS BASED ON A PAINTING BY WU DAOZI FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

SCALA FLORENCE

values of the earlier Zhou dynasty. Confucius believed that during that time the government demonstrated scrupulous respect for the rituals of the past. Confucius's concept of ritual was more social than religious. It closely related to the ancestral customs that form the bedrock of Chinese culture. For him, the observance of ritual and virtue were a means to maintain cosmic order.

As a statesman, Confucius strove constantly to put his principles into practice. Once he was sent as an ambassador to meet with the prince of the

neighboring state of Qi. On arrival, he saw that the prince had come accompanied by *Lai*—non-Chinese—troops.

"These barbarians will provoke ill will between the Chinese states," Confucius said, asking the prince to withdraw them, as their presence "would be a bad omen from the perspective of the spirits . . . and from the perspective of men, a moral transgression."

The ruler of Qi agreed to withdraw the *Lai* and the agreement was signed. At a banquet held soon after, however, more friction followed. Confucius protested

at the lack of correct dishes needed to celebrate such a feast according to the established rites: "A banquet must serve to showcase virtue, otherwise, it is better not to celebrate it at all." In the end, the feast was canceled.

On the Road

Not surprisingly, Confucius's rigid moral and ritual demands made him unpopular among the rulers of Lu. According to the Confucian philosopher and chronicler Mencius, the sovereign of Lu "did not adopt the measures that

EXAMINATION HALL Civil service exams were held in the throne room in the Hall of Supreme Harmony, Beijing, using an ancient syllabus based on Confucian principles.



APX

Confucius put forth, nor make use of his talents.” This fall from favor made it clear that Confucius “had to leave because the actions of [the rulers of] Lu had gone against the rituals.”

Historical sources differ on the exact reason Confucius abandoned his post in 497 B.C. According to the *Lun Yu*, Confucius was disgusted by the immoral practices of Lu’s prime minister, who had accepted a gift of singers and dancers from neighboring Qi and had neglected his duties in the palace. But according to

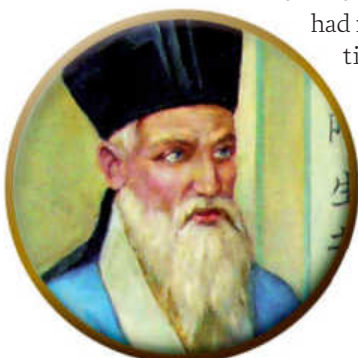
Mencius’s account, Confucius was snubbed during a ritual sacrifice and not offered meat, a clear sign of his fall from grace: “He left right away, without even removing his ceremonial cap.”

Confucius was 54 years old when he went into exile. In the years that followed, he traveled from one Chinese state to the next, in search of a ruler who would appreciate his abilities and teachings. He was accompanied by a series of highly educated disciples, distinguished in the arts of diplomacy, economics, administration, and defense. His aim may have been to create

a cabinet of wise minds to help him advise rulers to take the path of virtue.

According to historical accounts, Confucius’s quest to find noble rulers was not very successful. In the province of Wei, he came across a despotic princess. In Song, there was an attempt to kill him with a falling tree; and in Chen, he and his friends ran out of provisions. Once during his travels, an elderly man asked him, “Why are you so restless? Are you constantly traveling in order to put your persuasive powers to the test?” Confucius denied the charge: “I am concerned simply because the world persists in its ignorance.”

In the end, he gave up all hope of influencing politics: “Why does it worry you that I hold no post? The [political] world has lived long enough without moral behavior,” he once said to his friends, adding: “Heaven intends to use your master like a wooden clapper in a

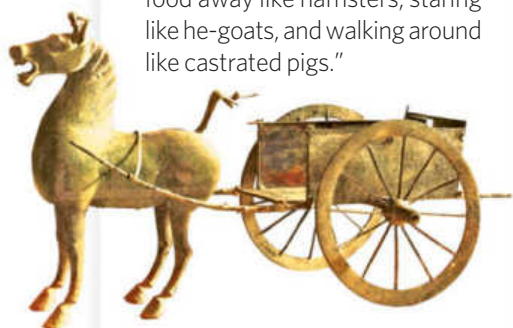


Matteo Ricci brought Confucian ideas to Europe, where they were much admired in the 18th century.

MATTEO RICCI. DETAIL OF A PAINTING, SHANGHAI CATHEDRAL. SCALA, FLORENCE

ADMIRER AND HATED

AFTER HIS DEATH, Confucius's legacy was kept alive by followers such as Mencius. But he also had his critics. In the late fifth century B.C., Mozi wrote a treatise against the Confucians, in which he stated that they "corrupt men with their elaborate and showy rites and music and deceive their parents with hypocritical grief . . . They are lazy and gluttonous . . . They behave like beggars, stuffing food away like hamsters, staring like he-goats, and walking around like castrated pigs."



BRONZE CARRIAGE, SECOND CENTURY A.D.

E. LESSING/ALBUM

bronze bell." With this memorable metaphor, Confucius conveyed the thanklessness of his philosophical task to awaken his contemporaries to a truly moral life.

Virtuous Life

Confucius's doctrine was not limited to respect for traditional rituals; it also entailed a reflection on the moral life of every person, irrespective of their social hierarchy. According to Confucius, a nobleman was not someone who had been born into nobility, but rather a man who demonstrated irreproachable moral conduct learned through education. An unenlightened aristocrat was just an ordinary man, while an outwardly common man might be inwardly noble if he lived with moral integrity.

Likewise, Confucius favored social ascent based on each person's merits; intellectuals would take control of the

government, swapping the nobility of blood for the nobility of virtue. This explains Confucius's appeal among his students and followers, many of whom came from varied social backgrounds. They included the highborn—aristocrats and the sons of gentlemen, like him—as well as merchants, laborers, artisans, soldiers, even former criminals and the sons of criminals. They all addressed him as master—*zi*—and called themselves his disciples.

Confucius seems to have held conversation in high regard, especially with his disciples. "Not to speak to a person who is capable of absorbing what you say is to let that person go to waste," he once said. "To speak to one incapable of absorbing what you say is to let your words go to waste."

Of the very close relationships with his disciples, that with Yan Hui was undoubtedly his most prized. "Heaven has

bereft me! Heaven has bereft me!" he cried out, on being informed of Yan Hui's early death.

At age 68, Confucius returned home to Lu in 484 B.C. He continued teaching but left no written works; the *Lun Yu* was compiled by generations of disciples during the century following his death. Confucius's political aspirations were never realized, and gradually he came to be seen as the Master Sage rather than an enlightened politician. In this way, the Chinese emperors managed to neutralize the subversive power of his political teachings and establish a somewhat watered-down version of Confucianism, which survived as the state religion until the abolition of imperial rule in China in 1912. But Confucius's influence has grown far larger and proved more enduring than he ever could have imagined.

—Verónica Walker



FILIAL PIETY is one of the main principles of Confucian thought. This 12th-century painting depicts him transmitting this idea to his disciples.

ART ARCHIVE

Sweet Trend: Europe Goes Cuckoo for Cocoa

Sacred to the Maya in the New World, cocoa took on a new life when it hit the shores of the Old World. Lauded by royalty, denounced by the church, and embraced in the kitchen, chocolate became the most fashionable drink in all of Europe.

In May 1502, Christopher Columbus set out on his fourth voyage to the New World. From this trip, he brought back many things to Europe: gold, silver, and a plain-looking cargo of beans. The Spaniards weren't impressed and largely overlooked them. At that time no one could have predicted just how much these unassuming beans would end up transforming Spanish and European cuisine.

Two short centuries later, the capital of the Spanish Empire was overrun by chocolate and consuming more than five tons every year. According to contemporary records, there was not a street in Madrid where chocolate could not be bought and drunk. How did the humble cacao seed of a South American tree become the latest craze in Europe?

Chocolate and Chili

The Maya were among the first to fall under chocolate's spell. The Madrid Codex, preserved in the Museum of the Americas in Madrid, Spain, contains the first written records of its consumption. The codex confirms that the Aztec believed that cacao beans were divine and seen as no less than a physical manifestation of Quetzalcoatl, god of wisdom.

As Spanish rule extended through the New World, the importance of cacao to the peoples they colonized became impossible to ignore. Cacao was valued so highly by the Aztec that it formed part of their monetary system. In order to understand the commercial transactions of the Aztec world, the Spaniards even created tables to show the trading value of specific amounts of cacao beans.



CHOCOLATE ON THE MENU in this 18th-century French painting of a family at breakfast by François Boucher.

SCALA, FLORENCE



SACRED RECIPE

THE SECRET of preparing chocolate was handed down to the Aztec from the Maya, who revered it as a divine drink. Cacao beans were ground to powder, and spices and cornmeal added. This powder was mixed with cold water and shaken vigorously until foam appeared.

A CACAO TREE APPEARS IN THIS 16TH-CENTURY AZTEC CODEX.

At first, the conquistadores kept their distance from chocolate. As the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo complained, the lips appear stained with blood after drinking it. The Aztec often mixed it with chili, a flavor alien to the Spanish palate. "Chocolate seemed more like a drink for pigs than something for human consumption," wrote Girolamo Benzoni in his history of the New World.

But attitudes changed rapidly when Hernán Cortés returned to Spain from his bloody conquest of Mexico in 1521. He presented the Aztec drink made from cacao beans to King Charles V. Adjustments to the recipe were made,



sugar was added, and chocolate soon became popular among the higher echelons of Spanish society. A new fad had been born.

Chocolate and Theology

In Spain, the laborious task of grinding cacao beans fell to the *molendero*. This itinerant figure would crisscross the country with a curved grindstone strapped to his back. Kneeling in front of his grindstone, he used a mortar to crush the tough coating of the beans. Little by little, and through enormous physical effort, the crushed beans would cohere into a smooth wet substance known as cocoa paste. In one of his poems, the late

Health Food? Chocolate and Cake

IN THE FIRST HALF of the 18th century, the French traveler and clergyman Jean-Baptiste Labat journeyed extensively through the New World. In his reports, he wrote of the importance of chocolate to colonizers and colonized alike:

"The Spaniards and other nations that imitate them, make slices of sponge cake or bread which they dip into the chocolate and eat before drinking the rest. This seems a sensible approach: the impurities found in the stomach stick to this bread and chocolate and so pass through the body more quickly."

Labat also described how in the parts of the New World through which he had traveled, chocolate "was used to make small tablets as well as a type of jam or spread. It would be most desirable for the use of this excellent foodstuff to be established here in France, as it is in Spain and throughout America."

CUPS, SAUCERS, AND PASTRIES

DURING A TOUR of Spain at the end of the 17th century, Madame d'Aulnoy attended a tea party held by the Duchess of Terranova in her palace. Chocolate was served in porcelain cups. The saucers were made of agate decorated with gold, and there was a sugar bowl to match. The chocolate was drunk either cold, hot, with milk or with eggs, and accompanied with

specially made little pieces of toast or sponge cake. Some people drank as many as six cups of chocolate, one after the other, two or three times in the course of a day.

CACAO PLANT IN A MANUSCRIPT ABOUT PLANTS FROM THE ANTILLES, 1686



BRIDGEMAN/ACI



A COPPER CHOCOLATE pot sits surrounded by baked goods for dipping in this 18th-century still life by Luis Meléndez.

ORONOZ/ALBUM

18th-century Valencian writer Marcos Antonio Orellana invokes a sense of reverence toward the production of chocolate that the Maya might identify with: "Oh, divine chocolate / kneeling they grind thee / with hands praying they stir thee / and with eyes raised to heaven they drink thee!"

Monasteries were among the major consumers of chocolate, buying the drink in large quantities. The Cistercian

monastery of Piedra, in Aragon, is said to be the first place in Spain where chocolate was prepared, and became a firm favorite among the monks there—but not all religious orders approved. The Jesuits believed that it went against the precepts of mortification of the flesh and poverty.

The question as to whether such a rich beverage should be drunk during periods of fasting sparked a theological debate between defenders and detractors of the chocolate habit. The 17th-century theologian Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio gave a definitive answer to the vexed question in his now

famous decree: "*Liquidum non frangit jejunum*—Liquid does not break the fast."

Chocolate Etiquette

Publicized as an exotic drink from the Indies, the consumption of chocolate spread across Spain throughout the 17th century. The habit became so widespread that aristocratic women took to drinking it to keep themselves awake through long church sermons—a practice that ended with it being banned from churches by the bishops.

Among the nobility of that period, no afternoon reception would have been complete without the ritual of serving a cup of hot chocolate, accompanied by fingers of sponge cake or cookies for dunking. In winter, the beverage was enjoyed at firesides among soft cushions and colorful tapestries. Chocolate drunk at a summer reception was often served with ice.



ORONOZ/ALBUM

The Marquis of Mancera designed a tray—a *mancerina*—to avoid chocolate drips.

THIS DOUBLE MANCERINA HOLDS TWO CUPS.

The Proper Steps

A TILED PANEL, produced in 1710 in the workshop of Llorenç Passoles, depicts a reception held in the garden of an upper-class household. In one of the scenes (shown below), servants carefully prepare the chocolate in a series of steps.

① Building Blocks

After roasting, the cacao bean is ground and blended with vanilla, cinnamon, and sugar to make a fine paste. This is then formed into blocks.

② Melting Down

The blocks are heated in a copper urn. A long stirring implement is passed through a hole in the lid to mix the melting chocolate.

③ Pouring Out

The chocolate drink is then poured into a serving pot made of porcelain or silver with a hinged lid and handle.

④ Drinking Up

The chocolate is drunk hot from little cups called *jícaras* or *pocillos*, which are served on the specially designed trays known as *mancerinas*.



RAMON MANENT/ALBUM

The 17th-century version of the drink was much thicker than the kind of hot chocolate mostly drunk now. Spillages could often stain clothes and upholstery. Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, viceroy of Peru and first Marquis of Mancera, came up with a solution to that problem in 1640. He suggested making a small tray with a central clamp to which the chocolate pot—the *jícara*—would be fixed, so as to prevent its being knocked over or leaving messy drips. In honor of its inventor, the tray was called a *mancerina*. Depending on the social standing of the host, *mancerinas* could be made of silver, porcelain, or pottery.

Fading Fad

The rest of Europe, and especially France, soon fell under the spell of the cacao bean, thanks in great part to Anne of Austria, the daughter of Philip III of Spain. When she married Louis XIII of

France, she brought with her the royal Spanish custom of drinking chocolate at breakfast time. Later, the wife of Louis XIV, Marie-Thérèse—another chocolate-loving Spanish princess—consolidated the supremacy of chocolate in the French court.

When the Bourbon dynasty was installed in Spain, its members became chocolate connoisseurs too, especially Philip V and his son Charles III. In his zeal to develop Spain through trade and industry, Charles III saw the potential economic value of cacao beans and allowed a monopoly on their trade between Madrid and Venezuela.

As a result, chocolate soon began reaching the tables of Spain's wider social classes. Grocery shops specializing in products from the Spanish colonies catered to newly acquired exotic tastes. The habit of drinking chocolate became attainable for many people.

From the beginning of the 19th century, however, new industrial methods allowed even higher consumption at a much lower cost. Soon chocolate was replacing tea and coffee as the drink of choice. In Europe, at least, cocoa had become an everyday commodity, a world away from the holiness and mystery of its South American origins.

Oddly enough, culinary uses for chocolate were slower to take hold. It was only in the 18th century that it began being used in desserts and cakes. In his 1747 book, *The Art of Confectionary*, Juan de la Mata included recipes for sweets made with chocolate, among which was a novelty. De la Mata called it "foam"—the prototype to chocolate mousse. Chocolate candy bars first began to appear in the 19th century, creating a solid way for the world to go crazy for chocolate.

—Fátima de la Fuente del Moral



Vengeance at the Vatican: The Cadaver Synod

In 897, the corpse of a dead pope was put on trial, the lowest point in the continual political and spiritual chaos of ninth-century Italy, as German and Italian nobles vied for supremacy.

It must have been a shock for the poor Roman fisherman who, according to legend, pulled up the body of a dead pope from the Tiber River. Few people would ever have expected to dredge up the remains of a pontiff who, nine months after his death, was at the center of one of the most bizarre episodes in the history of the papacy: a posthumous trial of a corpse. The story of Pope Formosus and the indignities suffered by his mortal remains embodied the tangled politics of late ninth-century Europe.

A quick glance at the list of popes in that era shows that Christian concord was notably absent from Rome and the Vatican: Instead, there was chaos. Between 872 and 965, no fewer than 24 popes were coronated in Rome (between 896 and 904, there was roughly one pope appointed per year!). Occupational hazards of the papacy included being deposed, thrown in prison, or murdered. The high rate of papal turnover could be attributed to both political intrigue and government instability.

Dukes and Kings

In the late ninth century, the papacy played a central role in violent power struggles across the Italian peninsula. Openly intervening in the family feuds of Rome's rulers, the pontiffs also played a central role in the regional struggle for supremacy. This conflict was fought, on the one hand, by the Carolingian emperors who, throughout the ninth century, emerged as protectors of the Catholic Church and lords of Italy. Their supremacy was increasingly challenged



FROM THE GRAVE
French painter Jean-Paul Laurens re-created the trial of Formosus, dressed in his papal robes and propped up to face justice.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI



W
IN 818, POPE PASCHAL I REBUILT THE BASILICA OF SANTA MARIA IN DOMNICA, ROME, AS THE PAPACY BEGAN AN ERA OF TURMOIL.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

THE FORTRESS OF THE POPES

BY THE 800s, Rome retained few traces of its glory days. Depopulated and in ruins, a large part of the city had become a ghost town filled with “green snakes, black toads and winged dragons,” according to one chronicler. Much of the population lived in a small sector of the city while the increasingly weakened papacy hunkered down in the Vatican, safe behind the circuit of fortified walls built by Pope Leo IV (847-855).

by burgeoning local dynasties such as the Dukes of Spoleto.

From early in his career, Formosus found himself tangled up in these complex conflicts. From his consecration as bishop of Porto—a diocese located at the mouth of the Tiber, slightly north of Ostia—he carried out numerous diplomatic missions in the name of the papacy, which took him to Bulgaria, Constantinople, and the Carolingian court. Formosus showed favor to Arnulf of Carinthia, a Frankish

king of the Carolingian imperial dynasty, who aspired to take the throne as King of Italy.

Formosus’s diplomacy went over badly with his superiors. Pope John VIII feared that if a king from such a powerful imperial dynasty became King of Italy, Rome would lose its independence. Pope John had Formosus excommunicated in 876 and expelled from his diocese. He and his followers were forced to flee Rome under threat of a trial for corruption and immorality. They found refuge in the court of Guy III of Spoleto.

Lying low for several years in northern Lombardy, Formosus waited for the

situation in Rome to improve. In 883, under the new, brief papacy of Marinus I, Formosus’s excommunication was lifted, and he was reinstated as the head of his former diocese in Porto. After the death of Pope Stephen V in 891, Formosus became pope.

Ally of the Emperor

The new pope had to confront a dangerous political situation. Shortly before Formosus was appointed, Guy III of Spoleto—his former protector—had been crowned King of Italy in Pavia. He had then headed to Rome to force Pope Stephen V to crown him Holy Roman Emperor. After Stephen V’s death, Formosus had to confirm Guy’s coronation and recognize his son Lambert as successor to the empire. Formosus, however, distrusting the new emperor and King of Italy, began to resume diplomatic ties with Arnulf of Carinthia, inviting him to confront Guy in Italy.



Formosus sought the support of the Carolingian dynasty to check the rising power of the Dukes of Spoleto.

CAROLINGIAN EMPEROR CHARLES III. CHARLEMAGNE RELIQUARY, 12TH CENTURY
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

NONANTOLA ABBEY is where, in 882, Emperor Charles III (Charles the Fat) asked Pope Marinus I to reinstate Formosus.



ANDREA PISTOLES/AGE FOTOSTOCK

To seize what he thought was his by right, Arnulf made a first incursion into Milan and Pavia in 893. Three years later, Guy had died, and his son Lambert had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome. In response, Arnulf laid siege to the Eternal City. Inside Rome, the Spoleto faction loyal to Lambert rebelled and imprisoned Pope Formosus in the Castel Sant'Angelo. But they were unable

to stave off the invaders. Formosus was freed and a few days later, he crowned Arnulf emperor in St. Peter's Basilica. Some months later, Pope Formosus died, whether of poison or old age (he was 80) was uncertain. Some praised him as a just and pious pope; others were unable to forgive him for favoring the German Arnulf over the Italian Spoleto clan.

Lambert's Revenge

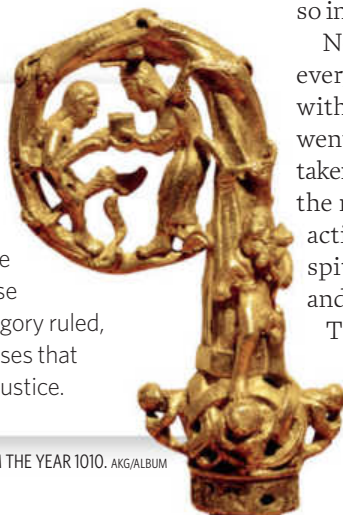
The story, however, did not end there. Not even death, it turned out, would exempt Formosus from the seemingly eternal cycle of intrigue and infighting. Formosus was succeeded by Boniface VI, who only lived 15 days into his term, and Boniface was succeeded by Stephen VI, a former follower of Formosus who also initially recognized Emperor Arnulf.

No sooner had Arnulf left Italy, however, then Stephen VI aligned himself with the local Spoleto family. Lambert went to Rome, which had already been taken over by his supporters, to convince the new pope to condemn Formosus's actions and tarnish his reputation, despite the fact that the man was dead and buried.

This condemnation, insisted Lambert, had to be in public to shame Formosus's followers. It would be conducted under the solemnity of

SINS OF THE DEAD

THE LEGAL PROCEDURE to bring the dead pope Formosus to trial may, historians suggest, have been derived from the decrees of the sixth-century pope Gregory the Great. Those guilty of mortal sin who had been interred in a church, Gregory ruled, had to be condemned. Gregory cited several cases of corpses that had been exhumed as part of this posthumous system of justice.



BISHOP'S CROSIER FROM THE YEAR 1010. AKG/ALBUM

Popes, Poison, and Plots

THE TRIAL OF FORMOSUS was just one of the episodes that marked the turbulent history of the papacy in the ninth and tenth centuries. The political struggles for control over Rome and the Catholic Church led to several popes dying in circumstances that would not be out of place in a modern-day mystery.

891–896 FORMOSUS

According to rumors, Pope Formosus was already 80 years old when he was poisoned by supporters of the Dukes of Spoleto. Contemporary accounts say he died in great pain.



903 LEO V

A month into his papacy, Leo V was deposed by Christopher, now considered by the church to be an antipope. Leo died in prison, perhaps on Christopher's orders.

914–928 JOHN X

He was imprisoned and killed in the Castel Sant'Angelo at the behest of Marozia, a noblewoman who reproached the pope for not offering the imperial crown to her husband.

872–882 JOHN VIII

A year after crowning Charles III (the Fat) as emperor, John VIII was poisoned, perhaps by someone close to him. According to Fulda's Annals, when the poison was slow to take effect, he was hit over the head with a hammer.



896–897 STEPHEN VI

The successor to Formosus had his predecessor's cadaver put on trial. After the deceased pope was condemned, his furious followers had Stephen arrested in the Lateran Palace. He was strangled soon after in prison.



ILLUSTRATIONS: ABOVE LEFT AND BELOW RIGHT: BRIDGEMAN/ACI. BELOW LEFT: ORONZO/ALBUM.

canon law and held before the papal curia and Roman nobility. Most bizarrely of all, it was decided that Formosus himself would attend his own posthumous trial.

Dead Man Talking?

The farce was carefully prepared down to the last detail. In early 897, Pope Stephen VI and Lambert ordered that Formosus's corpse be disinterred and brought to San Giovanni in Laterano for the proceedings. The trial was convened as a synod with all the cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries in full attendance.

Dressed in his official papal vestments, the dead pope sat propped up in a chair. The accused cadaver was assigned a defense lawyer, and the charges were read to him. His nomination as pope was illegal, one of the charges ran, because he had been Bishop of Porto at the time. This flouted canon law,

the accused was told. Addressing the corpse directly, Pope Stephen's counsel asked it: "Being Bishop of Porto, why did you, with great ambition, usurp this See of the Apostle?" A deacon was appointed to speak for the deceased. Sources say he mostly read from prepared statements.

We do not know if the dead pope's counsel dared to mount much else in the way of a defense. In any case, the sentence was not open to appeal. The synod signed the order to depose Formosus, and then condemned him and revoked all his appointments, so that all clerics ordained by him were forced to repeat the appointment process all over again.

Formosus's corpse was then stripped of his papal vestments. The three fingers he had used in consecrations and blessings were chopped off. The body was then dressed in common clothes and buried in a pauper's grave. Not con-

tent with that outcome, Stephen VI had the body dug up again and thrown into the Tiber.

Even for the Romans of the time, who were accustomed to interminable political upheaval, this episode marked an unacceptable low. Stephen VI was imprisoned and strangled to death in jail a few months after the Cadaver Synod. Two years later, Pope John IX reinstated Pope Formosus and banned further trials for dead popes.

Formosus's trial remains one of the strangest chapters in the long history of the Catholic Church. The story about the humble fisherman pulling Pope Formosus's remains from the Tiber may well be a myth, but we do know that the story of Formosus's dishonored body has an ending: in 897, it was reburied with full Christian honors.

—Alberto Reche Ontillera

For more than
two millennia, the
soaring pillars of
the Treasury have
greeted arrivals
to the magnificent
capital of the
Nabataeans.

ALFONS RODRIGUEZ



A full-page background image of the ancient city of Petra. The scene shows a massive, weathered rock face with several large, classical-style arches and columns carved into it. The rock is a warm, reddish-brown color. In the lower-left corner, a person wearing a white headscarf and a dark vest is riding a camel. The camel is walking towards the right. The overall lighting is bright, suggesting a sunny day.

PETRA

A LOST OASIS

In the early 1800s, a Swiss scholar tricked his way into the ruins of the Nabataean capital, whose secret location was closely guarded. Since then, historians have investigated Petra's legends to reveal its true place in history: a commercial power thriving along the trade routes between two worlds.



TEMPLE FOR A DIVINE KING

Known as Ed Deir—the Monastery—this building (above) was a temple for the worship of the deified King Obodas I. It was used as a church in the Byzantine period.

RITTERBACH/FOTOTECA

Deep within Jordan's desolate desert canyons and rugged mountains lies an ancient treasure, the stone city of Petra. A UNESCO World Heritage site and one of the new seven wonders of the world, Petra is a giant metropolis of tombs, monuments, and other elaborate religious structures directly carved into sandstone cliffs. Believed to have been settled as early as 9000 B.C., Petra developed into the thriving capital of the Nabataean kingdom. This little-understood Middle Eastern culture ruled much of modern-day Jordan from the third century B.C. until the first century A.D., when it yielded to the rising power of Rome.

After the Roman conquest and the shifting of trade routes, the city declined in importance until it was abandoned. Europeans did not set eyes upon its rose-colored walls for centuries, until the early 19th century when a traveler dressed himself in Bedouin costume and infiltrated the mysterious locale.

Explorer in Disguise

In 1812, Swiss scholar Johann Ludwig Burckhardt found himself standing at the entrance to a wadi, a dry-river valley, where his Bedouin guide had led him. Picking his way over the rocky canyon floor, he noted how the cavernous walls towered so high that they almost obscured the sky. But

64 B.C.

PETRA'S RISE AND FALL

Despite being forced to recognize Rome's power, **Petra** reaches its zenith of splendor in this period—until the **Roman emperor Trajan** formally annexes the city in A.D. 106.

A.D. 363

Now part of the **Byzantine Empire**, several of Petra's buildings are used as churches. An earthquake seriously damages many structures, and the city is gradually abandoned.

700-1096

Following the **Islamic conquest**, Petra becomes little more than a village. During the First Crusade, the Christian king of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, occupies Petra, now part of the barony of Karak.



an extraordinary sight awaited Burckhardt as he emerged into the open air on the other side: a fantastic building, sculpted out of solid rock and topped with a magnificent urn soaring nearly 150 feet above him.

The Swiss explorer had to manage his astonishment. A passionate scholar of the Arab world, Burckhardt knew that he had found a mysterious lost city, rumors of which had reached him on his desert travels. He was the first European to have entered Petra for many centuries.

Swathed in Arab robes, Burckhardt had to keep his excitement to himself. His Bedouin guide believed him to be Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Abdallah, an Indian-born student of the

Koran, who—Burckhardt explained to the guide in near-flawless Arabic—had come to this remote place to fulfill a pious vow. He had to act with the utmost discretion. Any false move could have blown his cover, putting his mission, and perhaps his life, in danger.

City of Legends

Legends of lost riches had swirled around that very same urn-topped monument Burckhardt had just seen. In Arabic, this building is known as Al Khazneh, the Treasury, because of the stories told by local tribes about a cache of treasure deposited there by thieves, long ago.

BYZANTINE ART

From A.D. 363, Petra became part of the Byzantine Empire. Some of its buildings were adorned with Byzantine mosaics such as this (below), representing fall.

AKG/ALBUM



1217-1276

After **Saladin** defeats the Crusaders in 1187, Petra returns to Muslim hands. A German, Thetmar, writes of visiting in 1217. Later, the Mamluk sultan Baybars I found Petra deserted.

1812

Swiss scholar **Johann Ludwig Burckhardt** becomes the first European for centuries to enter Petra. Disguised as a Muslim, he correctly identifies the ruins as the former Nabataean capital.



CARTOGRAPHY: EOSGIS.COM

REFUGE OF THE CARAVANS

THE PROSPEROUS NABATAEANS

The prosperity of the Nabataean kingdom and its magnificent capital, Petra, rested on the trade routes that passed through the city. From Yemen came incense, aromatic plants such as myrrh, and aloe—essential ingredients in perfume and medicine. Spices came from India and beyond, while

bitumen from the Dead Sea was essential to the caulking of ships across the Mediterranean. Vast caravans poured through Petra on their way to the lucrative markets of Rome, Alexandria, and other great cities of the Mediterranean basin. Nabataean wealth awoke the envy and greed of their neighbors, especially the Seleucids, whose founder had inherited the eastern tranche of the

empire of Alexander the Great. The Nabataeans held off numerous Seleucid attacks, even inflicting considerable damage on their assailants: In 84 B.C., the Seleucid king Antiochus XII Dionysus died during one such battle. Immersed in civil wars, and harried by the Jews as well as the Armenians, the decline of Seleucid power enabled the Nabataean kings to expand their territories yet farther.

HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT

This engraving (below) shows Johann Ludwig Burckhardt disguised in Muslim garb, as he might have looked during his search for Petra.

ART ARCHIVE



Today, historians believe this magnificent structure was the tomb of a first-century sovereign, perhaps the Nabataean king Aretas IV. Inside is a funerary chamber, free of any decorative details, and—so far, at least—free of treasure.

It is possible that, on his travels, Burckhardt had also overheard Bedouin tribesmen telling the story of another Petra wonder: the Qasr al Bint—the Palace of the Pharaoh's Daughter. Legend says that it belonged to a princess who pledged to marry any man who could channel water to her palace.

In reality, this building, the only example at Petra of a monument not sculpted out of rock, is a large temple. A tetrastyle structure (with four columns in front), scholars speculate it was dedicated to the cult of Nabataean divinities Dushara and Al-'Uzza.

Oasis of the Nabataeans

In the Bible, the area around Petra is called Edom, the land believed to have been settled by descendants of Esau, the elder twin brother of the Israelite patriarch, Jacob. It is likely

that Petra was among those settlements occupied by Semitic tribes, who invaded from the area around the Dead Sea, to the northwest, and from the Gulf of Aqaba from the south, in the 13th century B.C. Petra, along with a confederation of other cities, was in constant conflict with the Hebrew tribes to the west.

Much later, a new wave of settlers arrived, whose vast wealth would turn Petra into the Rose City. These were the Nabataeans, descended, according to Jewish-Roman writer Josephus, from the biblical figure of Nebaioth, the son of Ishmael. They are now believed to have originated in Arabia, arriving in Petra as nomadic merchants around the fourth century B.C., drawn by the abundance of freshwater.

There they switched to a settled lifestyle and became experts in water engineering, creating a highly sophisticated system of reservoirs and irrigation channels. Rain and spring water was collected in special deposits, from which it was then distributed across the city.

If the settlement at this time was a lush urban oasis in the middle of the red desert, it is easy



to see why, in local tradition, the episode from the biblical Book of Exodus—in which Moses makes water flow by striking a rock from his staff—is set in Petra. According to the local version, the narrow wadi known as the Siq, along which Burckhardt himself had arrived in Petra, was formed by the torrent of water released after Moses struck the rock.

Whatever the origin of this most precious of resources, the inventive Nabataeans used water to grow their city. Petra flourished as spice routes developed that linked India, Persia, and Arabia with the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Phoenicia.

Establishing a monopoly on caravan traffic, the Nabataean capital managed to protect itself from enemies while remaining open to the main flow of trade through the ancient world. For centuries, trains of dromedaries loaded with spices, silk and incense arrived in Petra. Desert weary, they willingly paid their tolls, not only to enjoy the protection of the city, but to stock up with that most precious resource that the Nabataeans could supply: freshwater.

From Hub to Backwater

Many of Petra's incredible monuments were constructed during the reign of King Aretas IV, between 8 B.C. and A.D. 40. For nearly a century, Petra's glory shone brightly, until it was outblazed by the greater empire to the west: Rome. In A.D. 106, the emperor Trajan annexed the Nabataean territories, and the area became known as the Roman province of Arabia Petraea.

Overshadowed by Bostra (known today as Busra ash Sham), the capital of the new Roman province, Petra's political influence waned. Much later, following the breakup of the Roman Empire, Petra became a provincial capital under the Byzantine Empire. But when that in turn fell to Muslim forces in the seventh century, Petra disappeared. In ruins after a series of earthquakes, it came to be known as Wadi Musa—the Valley of Moses.

During the Crusades, the area was better known for the monastery of St. Aaron than for the city itself. The monastery was located on the mountain called, in Arabic, Jebel Haroun—

METROPOLIS IN STONE

Petra's tombs, temples, and houses were not located in separate zones (above). Population growth led to the building of dwellings around the more ancient tombs and monuments.

GONZALO AZUMENDI

AVENUE OF TOMBS

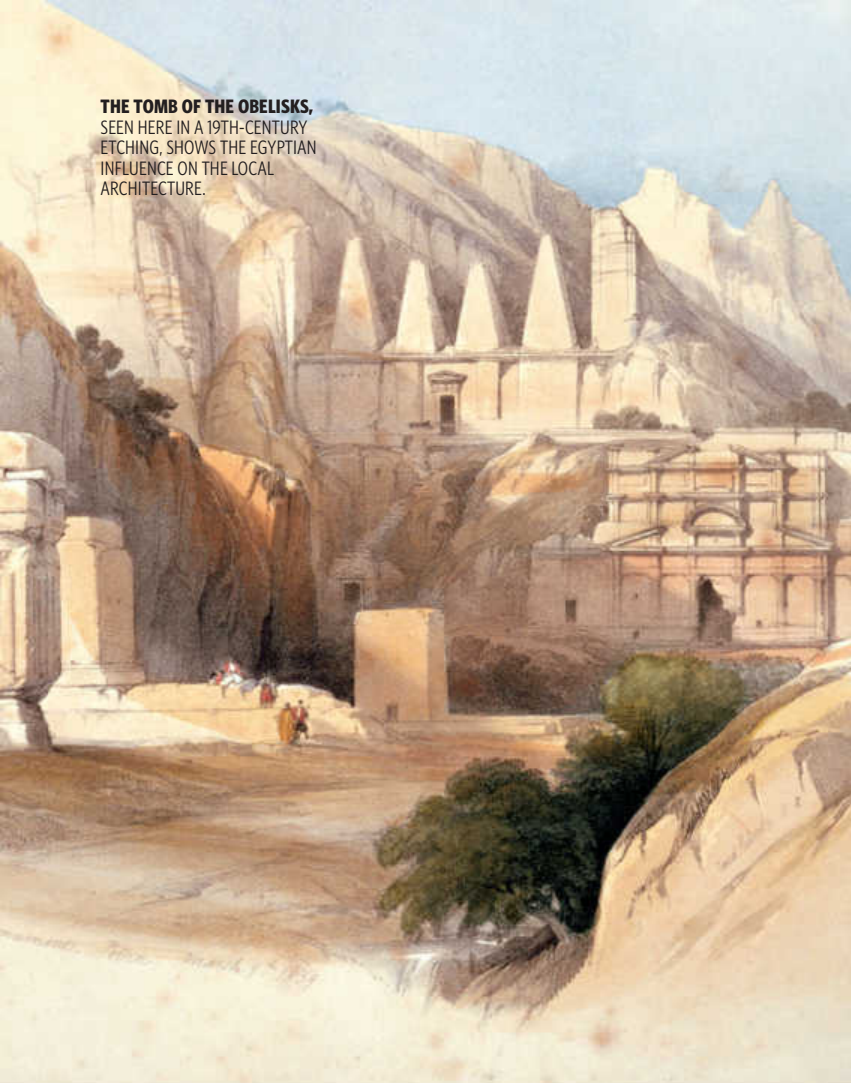
Massive, elaborate facades line the center of Petra, thought to be the resting places of Nabataean kings. Two of the most ornate are the Tomb of the Palace (left) and the Corinthian Tomb.

JOHANNA HUBER/FOTOTECA





THE TOMB OF THE OBELISKS, SEEN HERE IN A 19TH-CENTURY ETCHING, SHOWS THE EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE ON THE LOCAL ARCHITECTURE.



BRIDGEMAN/ACI

KINGDOM OF THE DEAD

CITY OF A THOUSAND TOMBS

When Burckhardt arrived in Petra in August 1812, he noted that the majority of the structures appeared to have served a funerary purpose. The significant Greek influence on the architecture was also apparent. Petra fell within the cultural sphere of the region's

Hellenistic monarchies, such as the Seleucids to the north and the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt. It came as no surprise to Burckhardt to note the presence of "obelisks, apparently of Egyptian style." Petra is home to more than 600 hypogea, tombs carved into the rocky walls of the valley. Many are simple burial chambers with loculi—niches in which to lay the dead—with no external decoration. The most famous, by contrast, have elaborate, sculpted facades. Another group of structures are the 25 tower tombs made up of massive blocks carved from the valley walls. Lastly, there are the simple sepulchres dug into the ground, either of individual graves or of larger cavities for collective burial, with a funerary chamber placed at the end.

NABATAEAN FASHION

Hellenist style influenced Nabataean art, as seen in the Phrygian cap and tightly curled hair and beard of this sculpted head (below).

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM



Mount Aaron—said to be the resting place of Moses' brother. In the 12th century, the sultan Saladin wrested most of the Holy Land from the Crusaders. Jebel Haroun, and the cult of Aaron, became a place of Muslim pilgrimage.

But one group of people maintained loyalty to the ruins of Petra: the Bedouin, who used the city as their stronghold. They kept its location a closely guarded secret for hundreds of years.

In the 19th century, European colonialists were driven by romantic as well as commercial notions of exploring the Middle East. The prospect of finding the ruins of lost civilizations inflamed the imaginations of scholars, among them Johann Ludwig Burckhardt.

Quest for Petra

Born in 1784, Burckhardt traveled to England to further his studies in 1806. He studied Arabic at the University of Cambridge, and became a member of the London-based Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, which tasked their gifted recruit to find the source of the Niger River.

Burckhardt accepted. His expedition was set to embark from Cairo.

Before leaving on such a perilous mission, in 1809 Burckhardt decided to visit Syria to intensify his study of Arabic and Islam. It was there he adopted his pseudonym, Ibrahim ibn Abdallah, for whom he set about creating a backstory. Ibrahim, he decided, was a Muslim from India, whose distant origins would dispel any doubts about his foreign-sounding accent when he spoke Arabic.

After an intensive, four-year period of study and travel within Syria, Burckhardt considered that he was ready, at last, to make for Cairo. The most direct route to Egypt lay along the coast, but Burckhardt chose a more difficult way, through the desert routes near the Dead Sea, an area unfamiliar to Europeans. His motive, as he wrote, was to consolidate his already extensive knowledge of the Arab world, but also, "to gather information regarding the geography of an area entirely unknown."

Burckhardt left Damascus on June 18, 1812. Heading south through what is now Jordan, he



overheard people talking about a city located near Jebel Haroun, where the tomb of Aaron is believed to be located. Well versed in classical writers and historians such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Josephus, whose works make reference to the mysterious Petra, he realized, with growing excitement, that he might be near the “lost” city itself. He made up a convincing cover story for his alter ego, Ibrahim: He was now a pious pilgrim who had journeyed from afar to fulfill a vow to make a sacrifice at Aaron’s tomb.

Hiring a local guide, Burckhardt entered Bedouin territory. On August 22, 1812, Burckhardt emerged from the dark, narrow wadi, finally setting eyes on the splendor of the Treasury facade. For all his care and discretion, he could not resist examining the structures, and taking notes. In his later account of the discovery, he wrote of the heart-stopping moment when his guide became suspicious: “I see now clearly that you are an infidel,” the Bedouin said angrily, accusing him of wanting to steal treasure. Burckhardt denied the charge and continued toward Aaron’s tomb.

“There is a valley in the hills of Jebel Shera named Wadi Musa,” he wrote to the Africa association on his arrival in Egypt. “Here are the remains of an ancient city, which I conjecture to be Petra . . . a place which, as far as I know, no European traveler has ever visited.”

Five years later, in Cairo after many wanderings that had taken him to Mecca and Medina, he was finally ready to explore the Niger River. But in a short life already packed with adventure, Burckhardt would never reach it. At the age of 32, he succumbed to dysentery, never realizing his dream to revisit those wonders he had examined under the watchful stare of his Bedouin guide. ■

NATURAL BEAUTY

The interiors of many of Petra’s tombs are enlivened by the spectacular geology of the sandstone (above).

JUAN CARLOS MUÑOZ

CRUZ SÁNCHEZ
SÁNCHEZ IS AN ARCHAEOLOGIST AND AUTHOR
SPECIALIZING IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Learn more

BOOKS
Petra and the Lost Kingdom of the Nabataeans
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Petra: The Rose-Red City
Christian Augé & Jean-Marie Dentzer,
Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 2000.

THE ROSE-RED CITY OF

EL DEIR, THE MONASTERY

Not only the biggest but the oldest of all the buildings in Petra. Dating from the third century B.C., it is capped by a 30-foot-high dome.

TOMB OF THE ROMAN SOLDIER

Named for the statue on its facade, which appears to be of a high-ranking Roman officer, it is built in the Roman style and dates from the second century.

Lion Triclinium

PALACE OF THE PHAROAH'S DAUGHTER

Built between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., the principal temple of Petra is believed to be dedicated to Nabataean deities Dushara and Al-'Uzza. Local legends say that the pharaoh mentioned in the biblical Book of Exodus settled here.

Temple of the Winged Lions

Colonnade Street

Renaissance Tomb

THEATER

Carved out of the rock around the first century B.C., it was later extended by the Romans to hold between 6,000 and 8,000 spectators.

High Place of Sacrifice

GARDEN TOMB

It is not established whether this small structure was a tomb or triclinium, a formal dining room in the Roman style. Two columns form its simple portico.

THE DESERT

The city of Petra was the sumptuous capital of the Nabataean kingdom. Strategically positioned at the crossroads of the Arabian trade routes, and renowned for its ingenious systems of freshwater storage, Petra flourished in the first century B.C. Its huge wealth enabled the construction of magnificent buildings and tombs.

Tomb of Sextius Florentinus

Silk Tomb

Uneishu Tomb

CORINTHIAN TOMB

Named for the style of its columns, its facade is similar to that of the Treasury, although greater exposure to the elements has left it much more worn.

PALACE TOMB

The highest of this structure's three stories is made up of 18 columns. At just under 150 feet tall, it is the biggest of all the tombs in Petra.

AL KHAZNEH, THE TREASURY

Believed to be the tomb of King Aretas IV, Petra's most emblematic building was built in the first century B.C. Its name comes from a local legend that the building conceals a hoard of treasure.

TOMB OF THE URN

A majestic facade cut into the rock face fronts a vast inner chamber. It is believed by some scholars to be the resting place of King Malchus II.

TOMB OF THE OBELISKS

Crowned with its distinctive four obelisks, the lower story of the tomb is thought to be a triclinium, where formal funerary banquets may have been held.



THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

GET READY FOR THE UNDERWORLD

The Book of the Dead helped Egyptians prepare for the afterlife where Osiris, god of the underworld, would judge them. Objects accompanied the dead on their journey, such as the pectoral depicting Ahmose I (below), found in the coffin of his mother.

SCALA, FLORENCE
CORBIS/CORDON PRESS



For centuries, ancient Egyptian royalty kept secret the magic spells and sacred rituals that guaranteed the favor of the gods after death. But over time, access to these funerary texts and ceremonies expanded. Egyptians, both rich and poor, could possess the inside guide to the underworld—and all the perils within it.



In 1842, the German Egyptologist Karl Richard Lepsius transformed understanding of Egyptian spirituality after he published a collection of ancient mortuary texts. Known in ancient Egypt as “The Chapters of Going Forth by Day,” Lepsius dubbed it the Book of the Dead. Its 200 chapters are a thrilling insight into beliefs about the trials, joys, and fears on the journey into death’s mysterious realm.

For centuries, it was assumed the writings found in Egyptian tombs were passages from ancient scripture. Later, when scholars learned to decipher hieroglyphs, they discovered that these texts were spells—magic “road maps” provided to the dead to navigate their way safely through the afterlife.

Although scholars had known of the magical content of the writings before Lepsius’s publication, his careful ordering of the spells and the assigning of a chapter number to each is the system still used to study them today. However, there is no uniform version of the Book of the Dead. Of the many versions of the spells that have been found, the texts’ construction are not exactly alike—yet the arrangement of Lepsius’s publication helped scholars to see this body of work as a more coherent whole.

Passages have been found inscribed on rolls of papyrus, on the bandages used in mummification, on tombs, and on the sarcophagi and grave goods of the dead. Originally intended solely for the use of royalty, the oldest parts of the Book of the Dead were drawn from funerary

writings known as the Pyramid Texts, which date back as far as the Egyptian Old Kingdom, to as early as 2300 B.C.

During the New Kingdom—from the 16th to the 11th centuries B.C.—the custom of placing papyri of the Book of the Dead in tombs spread beyond royalty. Some copies are lavishly illustrated and costly; others seem to have been produced cheaply for less wealthy clients. Despite the text’s long evolution, however, its function remained the same for royalty and nonroyalty alike: to ease the passage of the deceased through the underworld, offering them protection to face the ordeals and terrors lying in wait there.

Journey of the Dead

Excerpts from the Book of the Dead were intoned by a priest during the funeral ceremony at the tomb. Next came a series of rituals to prepare the dead for their journey. Among these was the rite called “the opening of the mouth,” in which ritual tools were applied to the image of the deceased on the sarcophagus. It was believed this ceremony reactivated the senses of the corpse.

For the ancient Egyptians this was a moment



ARALDO DE LUCA



SPELLS FOR THE AFTERLIFE

1633-1552 B.C.

Incorporating earlier texts, the Book of the Dead takes shape during the 17th dynasty, inscribed on shrouds and sarcophagi.

1475 B.C.

New chapters are added during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. A key addition is the reference to the “weighing of the heart.”

THE VOYAGE BEYOND THE TOMB

A feast of rich color and detail, the far wall of the exquisite burial chamber of Seti I depicts the journey of the dead pharaoh, as described in the Book of the Dead.



1305-1186 B.C.

During the 19th dynasty, the illustrations become richer in detail and more closely depict the events in the text.

1069-656 B.C.

In the Third Intermediate Period, smaller papyri appear in hieratic or cursive script with just one illustration at the beginning.

656-525 B.C.

In the 25th and 26th dynasties, the chapters in the Book of the Dead are numbered, a version known as the Saite Recension.

525-30 B.C.

The Saite Recension is used in an increasingly abbreviated form. The Book of the Dead stops being used in the first century B.C.



AKG/ALBUM

RE'S NEMESIS

This painting (left) from the tomb of Inherkhau in Deir el Medina depicts the Great Cat of Heliopolis, one of the forms taken by Re, attacking the evil serpent Apep.

JUST LIKE HEAVEN

Built for Sennefer, chief nobleman of Thebes, the decorations of this tomb in Sheikh Abd el Qurna (right) depict the tranquil pleasures of the afterlife.

of hope as expressed in the ninth chapter: "I have opened up every path which is in the sky and which is on earth, for I am the well-beloved son of my father Osiris. I am noble, I am a spirit, I am equipped; O all you gods and all you spirits, prepare a path for me."

The Egyptians believed that the dead person would embark on a subterranean journey, tracing the route of Re, the sun god. After disappearing with the setting sun in the west, Re passed under the world in a boat to return to his starting point in the east. During this journey, the deceased, aboard Re's boat, would have to confront ferocious creatures barring the way to their new life. The most formidable of these was Apep, a serpent intent on stopping Re's boat and bringing chaos to the world.

Apep would threaten Re every night. If the deceased were to come face-to-face with this terrifying creature, chapter 7 of the Book of the Dead was at hand to offer help: "I will not be inert for you, I will not be weak for you, your poison shall not enter my members, for my members are the members of Atum."

Trial of the Heart

Having made it past Apep, the deceased would eventually arrive at a labyrinth, protected by a series of gates. To go through each one, they had to recite a specific text and call out the name of the gate. If the correct prayer was offered, then the gate would say: "Pass, you are pure."

After the labyrinth, the next stop was the Hall of Two Truths, where the dead would be judged by a panel of 42 judges presided over by the god of the underworld, Osiris. The "defendant" would swear they were innocent of a lengthy list of potential sins. Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead includes many examples, including: "I have not slain people . . . I have not stolen the gods' property . . . I have not caused (anyone) to weep . . . I have not carried out grain-profiteering . . . I have not (sinfully) copulated . . . I have not been the cause of terror . . . I have not been impatient . . . I have not slain sacred cattle."

After the confession came the climax of the trial: the weighing of the heart. Anubis, the jackal god of mummification, held up a pair of scales. In one dish sat an ostrich feather, like that worn by the goddess of justice, Maat, and regarded as a symbol of truth. In the other dish was the dead person's heart, embodying the actions carried out in their lifetime. If the feather and the heart balanced the scales, the dead person would pass the test. Those whose hearts weighed too much were considered impure and condemned to several horrific fates.

The deepest fears of an ancient Egyptian contemplating their lot for eternity are eloquently summarized in chapter 53 of the Book of the Dead. One of the eternal punishments handed down was the prospect of having to eat one's own excrement: "I detest what is detestable. I will not eat feces, I will not drink urine, I will not walk



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INCREASING ACCESS

GOING FROM ROYALTY TO THE MASSES

How and when the Book of the Dead first came to be compiled is a mystery. The earliest known example appeared on the sarcophagus of the 13th-dynasty queen Mentuhotep (1633-1552 B.C.), on which newer spells are included alongside earlier collections of funerary texts, known as the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Text.

Between the Middle and New Kingdoms, use of the Book of the Dead was no longer limited to the burial arrangements of royalty. Anyone with enough money to produce or acquire a version of the text could, it was hoped, increase their chances of a smooth passage through the afterlife.

By the New Kingdom (circa 1539-1075 B.C.), most papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead came from Thebes. The text was written either vertically in columns of hieroglyphs or horizontally in hieratic script. These later editions were cheaply made, produced in bulk and with few illustrations. Some even featured blank spaces where the deceased's name could be filled in to personalize their copy.



ORDER AND CHAOS

Simple in form, muted in color, the art in the tomb of Thutmose III depicts the defeat of the serpent of chaos, Apep, a key episode of the Book of the Dead.

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DIVINE WISDOM

The tomb of Queen Tausert (left), of the 19th dynasty, is decorated with scenes from the Book of the Dead. Horus, the falcon god and son of Osiris, stands in front.

DECORATED DEFENSES

The sarcophagus of Sennedjem (right), found in a tomb at Deir el Medina, is protected with scenes from the Book of the Dead and amulets.

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head down.” Other dreaded sentences included perpetual hunger and thirst, being boiled, or devoured by a wild beast.

Of such importance was the weighing that the Egyptians fashioned amulets, the scarab of the heart, which were placed over the heart of the deceased before mummification. Inscribed on the back was often chapter 30 of the Book of the Dead: “Oh my heart which I had from my mother! O heart of my different ages! Do not stand up as a witness against me, do not be opposed to me in the tribunal, do not be hostile to me in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance.”

Rewards of the Afterlife

To the righteous, on the other hand, the way to paradise would now be opened. The virtuous could look forward to the plains of Aaru, “the fields of reeds.” Not unlike the world they’d left behind, this happy land of the dead abounded with rivers, mountains, and lush, fertile fields in which barley would grow up to five cubits high.

It was not, however, an exclusively spiritual paradise. There were physical rewards as well. As chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead reveals, corporeal needs and pleasures were not abandoned once one passed into the afterlife. Many of life’s pleasures—eating, drinking, and copulating, to name a few—existed there as they did in life. Specific meals are mentioned: A passage from the rubric to chapter 125 promises

Ashens-cake, a jug of beer, a Persen-cake, and a portion of meat from the altar of the Great God.

The dead were also expected to labor: Planting and reaping crops were included as part of the afterlife in the Aaru. But work was not all that arduous, as the virtuous dead could now rely on an army of servants to help them. These were the ushabtis, statues entombed with them among the other grave goods. It was believed that magic would convert these statues into servants once the dead passed into Aaru. Each ushabti figurine had its arms crossed and held farming implements. On the lower part of each was inscribed a chapter from the Book of the Dead: “[I]f [name of the deceased] is accounted to do any work in the God’s Domain . . . the irrigation of the fields, or to water the banks, or to row sand of the east to the west, I will do it. Here I am.”

An emphasis on physical as well as spiritual redemption reflects the anxieties of a society troubled by the body’s annihilation. Nevertheless, throughout the Book of the Dead, the reward that the dead could expect if they made correct use of the text is confidently asserted: “He shall flourish and his children shall flourish . . . he shall be ushered in with the kings of Upper Egypt and the kings of Lower Egypt, and he shall be in the suite of Osiris. A matter a million times true.” ■

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ARALDO DE LUCA



MAGIC INSCRIPTIONS

MANUAL FOR THE AFTERLIFE

Since Karl Richard

Lepsius coined the term “Book of the Dead” in 1842, this funerary text has been an important focus of research for Egyptologists. The complexity of the journey through the underworld is reflected in the diversity of the extant texts: Some copies are much longer than others and not all the chapters are included in each copy.

The most complete extant text is known as the Ani Papyrus, dating from Thebes at the time of the 19th dynasty, around the year 1275 B.C. It consists of around 200 chapters. In practice, the number of chapters included in a papyrus depended on what the person commissioning it could afford to pay.

The name of Osiris appeared before the name of the deceased in their copy of the Book of the Dead. Ani, for example, would be referred to as Osiris Ani—the dead person’s identity now fused with the god of the underworld. At the end of the chapter, a note written in red, and referred to by scholars as the Rubric, indicated how the chapter should be used to get the desired results.

A GUIDE TO THE AFTERLIFE: THE ANI PAPYRUS

With a total length of nearly 78 feet, the Ani Papyrus is the most complete surviving version of the Book of the Dead. It was produced around 1275 B.C. for Ani, the royal scribe of Thebes, and his wife, Tutu, priestess of Amun. It was acquired in Luxor in 1888 by Wallis Budge, an agent of the British Museum, who cut it into 37 sections to transport it to England. Budge published a translation in 1895. A widely acclaimed translation by R. O. Faulkner was published in 1994. The Ani Papyrus is still held by the British Museum. Two fragments are reproduced here. Two fragments are reproduced here.



OSIRIS,
GOD OF THE
UNDERWORLD,
IS FLANKED
BY HIS SON
HORUS (LEFT)
AND HIS WIFE,
ISIS (RIGHT) IN
THIS NINTH-
CENTURY B.C.
SCULPTURE.

CORBIS/CORDON PRESS





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TRIAL BEFORE THE GODS

Ani and his wife **1** enter the hall. In attendance is a manifestation of Ani's soul, his *ba*, represented as a bird with a human head, and a male figure representing his destiny **2**. On the dishes of the scales **3** held by Anubis **4** are the heart of Ani and the feather of Maat, symbol of justice. If Ani is righteous, heart and feather must weigh the same. Thoth **5**, god of writing, records the proceedings. Behind him, Ammit **6**, a hybrid of crocodile, hippopotamus, and lion, is ready to devour Ani's heart if it fails the test.

JACKAL-HEADED ANUBIS WEIGHS THE HEART BEFORE THE 12 JUDGES OF THE UNDERWORLD WHILE ANI AWAITS HIS FATE.



BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

ETERNITY AMONG THE RIGHTEOUS

Having passed the trial, Ani approaches the land where the righteous dwell. He makes offerings to three of the gods **1** of the Ennead (a grouping of nine deities). He then rows across the Lake of Offerings **2** and worships the falcon representing the west **3**. Below, he carries out agricultural tasks **4**, paying homage to the bird Benu, symbol of rebirth **5**. In the final picture, the boat of Wen-nefer (one of the names for Osiris) **6** is shown moored on the lake. On the right, Ani pays homage to Sokar Osiris **7**, the funerary god.

ANI CARRIES OUT THE AGRICULTURAL TASKS REQUIRED OF THE VIRTUOUS DEAD ON THE LUSH PLAINS OF AARU, "THE FIELDS OF REEDS."

**POISED FOR
GREATER GLORY**

The Alexander Mosaic, on display in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, Italy, shows the conquerer astride his war horse, Bucephalus.

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM





Expanding an Empire

ALEXANDER IN INDIA

AFTER SUBDUING PERSIA, ALEXANDER THE GREAT SET HIS SIGHTS ON INDIA, A MYSTERIOUS LAND AT THE EDGE OF THE EARTH. THE ENCOUNTER WOULD LEAVE AN ENDURING MARK ON BOTH GREEK AND ASIAN CULTURE.

The March to India

Spring 327 B.C.

Alexander the Great marries Princess Roxana of Bactria to secure political power in his new territory.

Summer 327 B.C.

Alexander turns his attention to the kingdoms lying beyond the Hindu Kush and starts planning his campaign.

Spring 326 B.C.

Alexander and his army take the forbidding fortress of Aornus. Even Heracles himself, it was said, would have been unable to capture it.

Spring 326 B.C.

The Macedonian army crosses the Indus River and is welcomed by Ambhi, King of Taxila, who presents Alexander with gifts and allies with him.

Spring 326 B.C.

Alexander defeats King Porus of the Punjab at the Battle of the Hydaspes, where Porus's formidable war elephants unleashed panic.

Summer 326 B.C.

Despite securing an alliance with Porus, Alexander loses the support of his troops, who mutiny. Alexander suspends his campaign.

Fall 326 B.C.

Alexander's army splits in two and begins to retreat from India.



ALEXANDER'S AMBITION

After conquering the Persian Empire, Alexander planned his Indian campaign in the Macedonian city of Amphipolis where this coin (below), depicting Athena, was minted.



BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

In 328 B.C., Alexander the Great, at age 26, had a choice to make. After defeating Darius III of Persia and later crushing a rebellion by the Sogdian leader Spitamenes, the entire expanse of the former Achaemenid Empire now belonged to Alexander. He controlled the territory stretching from modern-day Turkey through Mesopotamia to the Iranian plateau and the Oxus and Jaxartes River Basins (respectively the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya today), nearly two million square miles. But would the great military leader be content to rule these lands, or would he try to expand his kingdom?

Beyond the Hindu Kush lay India, a land that the Greeks knew about more from legend than experience. In the past, Persian kings had attempted to impose their law on the nearest parts of that land: the east of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Indus Valley. However, the governors, or satraps, installed there failed to establish control over peoples fiercely protective of their independence, such as the Malavas and the Oxydracae.



CARTOGRAPHY: EOSGIS.COM



FORMIDABLE BARRIER
ALEXANDER CROSSED THE PEAKS OF THE HINDU KUSH IN AFGHANISTAN TO REACH INDIA.

MOUNTAINS OF MYTH

WITH PEAKS OVER 23,000 feet high and stretching for more than 500 miles, the Hindu Kush mountain range is the natural border between the Iranian plateau and the Indus River Valley. The Greeks called it Paropamisus, which comes from a Persian term meaning “peaks over which an eagle cannot fly.” They identified it with the mythical mountain where Zeus chained the Titan Prometheus, condemning him to have his liver eaten every day by an eagle.

TON KOENE/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Undaunted by this precedent, Alexander yearned to advance farther than the great Achaemenid kings by marching into these mysterious lands. Mythical Greek gods and heroes, such as Dionysus and Heracles, set foot there in legend, but no mere mortal had followed them.

Determination to conquer the known world drove him forward to India. Alexander’s campaign seemed unstoppable at first. He advanced into the foothills of the Hindu Kush within just a few weeks, taking villages and cities in the face of strong resistance.

After crossing the Indus and defeating the Indian king Porus at the Battle of the Hydaspes, Alexander moved toward the Ganges Valley, determined to conquer the entire Indian subcontinent. But when he reached the Hyphasis River (now known as the Beas), his soldiers revolted. Eight months of fighting had exhausted them, and they refused to go any farther. Alexander was forced to give up and to return his forces to Mesopotamia. Over time, the territory he had gained would slip back under local control.

East Meets West

Alexander did not reach the far coast of Asia. Nor could he keep the grand promises of wealth he had made to his soldiers. But Alexander’s Indian adventure was far from a failure: He had ventured into a previously unknown world. His campaign was one of the earliest moments of cultural contact between East and West, and that encounter left a deep impression on many of those involved, as recorded in various chronicles and reports that were commissioned by Alexander himself.

In the Greek imagination, India was a hazy land that lay at the farthest edge of the world. Before Alexander the Great’s expedition, little news of the region came as far west as Macedonia, and what did arrive in Europe was distorted and fantastical. Very few Greeks had previously ventured so far. Only Scylax of Caryanda had traveled through a part of it as an explorer

LEGACY OF ALEXANDER

The kingdom of Bactria, in modern-day Afghanistan, maintained close links with the Greek world, as the lettering on this second-century B.C. coin (below) attests.



ANG/ALBUM



in the service of King Darius I of Persia around 515 B.C. He ventured down the Indus to the ocean and then sailed along the coast to Egypt. Unlike the detailed report he wrote for the Persian government, the account of his travels, which he wrote later, held its share of improbable tales.

Another Greek, Ctesias of Cnidus, wrote the first treatise on India in the early fourth century B.C.—even though he never actually went there. The information collected in his account came from the travelers, traders, and ambassadors he met during the years he spent at the Persian court as a royal doctor. In both their accounts, Scylax and Ctesias presented India as a land brimming with marvels and wonders, no doubt adding to Alexander's motives to mount an expedition there.

Brave New World

In Alexander's time, the Macedonian soldiers encountered a completely foreign land unlike any they had seen before. After crossing the snowcapped mountains of the Hindu Kush and having braved the range's

MACEDONIANS VERSUS INDIANS

This silver decadrachm (below), made in Babylonia around 324 B.C. to commemorate Alexander's victory over Porus, shows a Macedonian rider attacking two Indian warriors on an elephant.



BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

terrifying ravines, the expedition entered the Indus basin. The river impressed them with its size—six miles wide according to surviving accounts. Its violent whirlpools, deafening roar, spectacular floods, and lurking crocodiles were all compared to the Nile in Egypt. When he saw the Indus and before he discovered that it flowed into the ocean, Alexander himself speculated that the Indus could be the source of the Nile due to the similarity between the two rivers' flora and fauna.

The region's animals and plants were of immense interest to the Macedonians, especially to the traveling scholars who accompanied them. Alexander ordered them to collect specimens for cataloging and study. References to these discoveries can be found in a range of scholarly Greek works, such as the botanical treatise by Theophrastus, one of Aristotle's followers, and other treatises kept in the Library of Alexandria. Details about the India expedition also found their way into collections of rarities and curiosities. The Greeks recorded seeing trees with



ALEXANDER AND PORUS

The defeated King Porus is brought before Alexander after the Battle of the Hydaspes in this 17th-century painting by Charles Le Brun.

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE



STANDING NEAR TAXILA, THE STUPA OF DHARMAAJIKA WAS BUILT BY BUDDHIST KING ASHOKA IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

A MAGNIFICENT WELCOME

AMBHI, RULER OF TAXILA, a strategic city in modern-day northern Pakistan, allied himself with the Greeks, and on Alexander the Great's arrival offered him splendid gifts: 3,000 bulls, 10,000 sheep, many talents of silver, and 30 elephants. The Macedonians immediately sacrificed the bulls to their gods and held athletic games and an equestrian tournament before crossing the Indus River.

NADEEM KHAWAR/GETTY IMAGES

trunks so thick it took more than five men to wrap their arms around them. They spoke of a tree with such long branches and dense foliage that numerous riders could sit in its shade. Most likely, they were describing the banyan tree, which can indeed grow to a spectacular size.

The Macedonians also noted other fantastic trees with strange twisting roots, giant leaves larger than a shield, and abundant, odd-looking fruits, described in one account as “bean-like pods, nine inches long, and as sweet as honey.” But their attractive appearance was deceptive, they wrote, “as you are unlikely to survive if you eat one.” It is thought these “dangerous” fruits were probably bananas or mangoes.

The Greeks also came across brightly colored plants they had never seen before. Some of them were poisonous, but some had medicinal properties of which they quickly learned to take advantage. Once they found out how to use them with the aid of local experts, they could treat the men who fell ill in the extreme climate with its constant rain that rotted their

clothes and rusted their weapons. They also learned to treat snake and insect bites. Some of this information found its way into instructional poems such as the one composed by Nicander in the second century B.C. on poisons and their antidotes.

Fierce Creatures

The variety and richness of India's wildlife was also a revelation to the Greek invaders. They recorded with awe tigers, parrots, and rhinoceroses. They saw different kinds of apes, some so large that when the Macedonian troops saw them from a distance from high up in the mountains they mistook them for the massed ranks of an army on the march.

The Greeks recorded seeing trees with trunks so thick it took more than five men to wrap their arms around them.

INDIA'S NAKED PHILOSOPHERS

During his time in Taxila, Alexander was intrigued by the custom of its sages to not wear clothes as they went from village to village. These people were the Brahmins, whom the Greeks called gymnosophists, which means “naked philosophers.” Some had long hair, while others shaved their heads. At a meal with Alexander, it was observed that they all “ate standing up . . . The most nimble of them balanced on one leg, holding onto a beam with his hands; he switched legs when he got tired. He stayed like that all day long.” One of the gymnosophists, Calanus, joined Alexander’s expedition. After he fell ill in Pasargadae, he burned himself on a pyre, much to the astonishment of the Greeks.



THIS 18TH-CENTURY PAINTING DEPICTS ISKANDAR (PERSIAN FOR "ALEXANDER") MEETING THE BRAHMINS.

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM



ALEXANDER'S APPEAL TO ARTISTS LASTED CENTURIES, AS EVIDENCED BY THIS 17TH-CENTURY WORK DEPICTING THE NEWS OF CALANUS'S DEATH.

DANIEL ARNAUDET/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

GODDESSES CYBELE AND NIKÉ RIDE IN A LION-DRAWN CHARIOT ON THIS THIRD-CENTURY B.C. DISK FROM AI KHANUM



SIGNS OF ASIA AND GREECE

ALEXANDRIA ON THE OXUS, modern-day Ai Khanum, was founded by Alexander the Great and remained a center of Hellenism in the East for centuries. Located in north-eastern Afghanistan, its art and culture bore the marks of both Asian and Greek traditions. Paul Bernard, a French archaeologist, excavated the city from 1964 to 1978. He uncovered typically Greek buildings such as a theater, a gymnasium, and temples of Olympian gods, as well as Greek coins bearing pictures of Hindu gods and even Indian-influenced sundials. The Soviet-Afghan War forced work to halt in 1978, and the ruins were extensively looted. Today virtually nothing remains of this once prosperous settlement where two cultures intertwined.

ALBUM

The Macedonians also encountered large snakes such as the 22-foot-long pythons that Abisares, the King of Kashmir, gave Alexander as a gift when he surrendered. One chronicler described their surprise at the variety and ferocity of these snakes, which were a constant threat to local people: “They colonized the highest villages during the rainy season, the local people forced to build beds high off the ground. But many still had to leave their homes, overwhelmed by the invasion.” Even familiar animals had surprises in store. Dogs trained by the Indian king Sophytes were able to fight lions and would not let go of their prey even if one of their legs was slowly cut off.

Elephant Warriors

Not surprisingly, the animals that most impressed the invaders were elephants, especially the way they were used in war by their enemies. Alexander’s cavalry had faced elephants during the Battle of Gaugamela at the start of their invasion of the Persian Empire, but there had only been a few of them there.

Later, at the Battle of the Hydaspes, King Porus massed around 200 of the beasts, which to the Macedonians resembled fortresses or towers. Accounts describe how their trumpeting created confusion among the soldiers and horses. In the midst of the fray, elephants picked up weapons and enemy soldiers with their trunks and gave them to their drivers. In some instances, they crushed them with their colossal feet. Chroniclers also recorded an emotional scene when Porus was knocked off his mount. His elephant protected him against the enemy attempts to strip him of his weapons before lifting him onto its back again.

Elephants also became valuable war booty, a gift that Alexander was pleased to receive from the various Indian monarchs who submitted to his military forces. The invaders also witnessed the ingenious method Indians used to hunt elephants: They dug pits and lured the males into them using females in

GREEK ART IN THE EAST

Hellenic influences are reflected in this first-century stela (below) from But Kara, Pakistan, in which ascetic Brahmins, in Greek clothing, make gestures of consolation.



SCALA, FLORENCE

ABUNDANCE OF ALEXANDRIAS

Alexander was notorious for naming cities after himself, such as Alexandria Margiana, located in modern-day Turkmenistan. The city's name changed to Merv, later a major stop on the Silk Road. Its impressive ruins of the Kyz-Kala fortress date to the sixth century A.D.



heat. Once captured, the elephants were weakened through starvation to make them easier to tame.

Exotic Dress, Familiar Gods

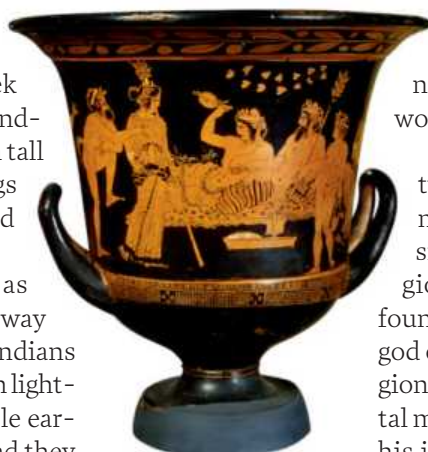
It was said that there were no fewer than 5,000 cities between the Hyphasis and Hydaspes Rivers—an exaggeration, perhaps, although it was certainly true that the regions the Macedonians passed through were densely populated compared to Greece.

Settlements such as Taxila and Sangala tended to be much larger than Greek cities. They were also fortified and defended by experienced warriors armed with tall bows and fearsome chariots. The kings were adorned with precious stones and followed by extravagant entourages.

Indian customs struck the Greeks as breathtakingly exotic, especially the way they dressed. One chronicler wrote, “Indians are of a thin build. They are tall and much lighter than other men . . . They wear marble earrings (or at least the rich Indians do) and they

DIVINE WINE

Ancient wine jars often depict the Greek god of wine, Dionysus, eating and drinking with his followers (below). The Greeks believed that Dionysus visited India.



SCALA, FLORENCE

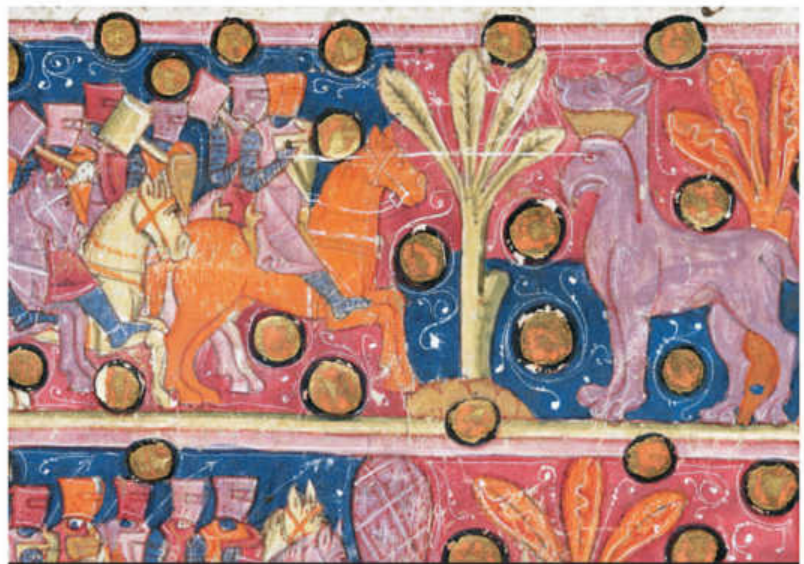
dye their beards, some the purest white, others dark blue, others red, purple or even green. They wear clothes made of extremely shiny linen. They wear a tunic that reaches down to their calves and a cloak on their shoulders. Others wrap it around their heads.”

The inhabitants of some regions they crossed were notable for their longevity, frugality, and good health. But the Macedonians also recorded less exemplary customs, such as suttee—the burning of widows at their deceased husband’s funeral—an “honor” the dead man’s wives would fight over.

In spite of the great cultural distance between the Indian and Hellenic worlds, the members of Alexander’s expedition noted similarities, especially in the field of religion. For example, they believed they had found cultural traces of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine, on Mount Meros in the Nysa region. In the story of Dionysus’s birth, his mortal mother Semele dies while pregnant. Zeus, his immortal father, takes the unborn child,



TIM WHITBY/ALAMY/ACI



BRIDGEMAN/ACI

LEGENDARY MONSTERS

ALEXANDER'S INDIAN ADVENTURE spawned fantastic stories that spread across Europe and lingered for centuries. An Anglo-Saxon text, presented as a letter from Alexander to his tutor Aristotle, reported flying mice and fish-eating men. As late as the 14th century, histories of Alexander's Indian campaign, like *L'Histoire ancienne*, were being illustrated with fantastic beasts, like the griffin (right) as it faces off against warriors on horseback.

sews him up in his thigh, and gives “birth” to him later. “Meros” means “thigh” in Greek, a sign that Alexander’s scholars took as evidence of Dionysus’s influence. The Greeks were quick to arrange a sacrifice to the god. “Many high-ranking officials adorned him with ivy garlands and soon fell into a trance, possessed by the god, and invoked the name of Dionysus, running around in a frenzy.”

The people of the area were happy to accept the suggestion, as it ensured they would be treated benevolently by their conquerors. Alexander himself saw it as confirmation that although he had penetrated so far into the strangest of lands, he was nevertheless walking in the footsteps of a familiar god, and that his aim of establishing world dominion enjoyed divine blessing.

Perhaps the greatest impact on the Macedonian king and his men was India’s vast size. Even at the farthest extents of their Asian incursion, they realized that India vastly exceeded anything they had imagined when crossing the Hindu Kush. As a result of the Macedonian

conquest and their discoveries, India became much better integrated into the Greek worldview. The new knowledge of the East was incorporated in the map of the world drawn in the third century B.C. by the great geographer and mathematician Eratosthenes of Cyrene, chief librarian at the Library of Alexandria.

Parallel to such rationalization, the legendary status of India, the land at the world’s end, continued to exert a strong fascination across the Mediterranean world. The accounts of returning travelers, half chronicle, half legend, haunted and stimulated the Greek mind for many centuries afterward. ■

FRANCISCO JAVIER GÓMEZ ESPELOSÍN
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ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND TRAVELERS’ ACCOUNTS IN ANCIENT GREEK CULTURE.

Learn more

BOOKS

Alexander the Great

Philip Freeman, Simon & Schuster, 2011.

Into the Land of Bones: Alexander the Great in Afghanistan

Frank L. Holt, University of California Press, 2012.

THE HELLENIC LEGACY

The political effects of Alexander's Indian campaigns were short-lived, but the cultural effects would last for centuries to come. During the period of the Hellenic Seleucids in the third and second centuries B.C., permanent Greek settlements took root in Central Asia, and their culture permeated through the region. The greatest manifestation of Greek influence can be seen in the art that developed in Gandhara in modern-day Pakistan: Depictions of princes and Buddhist divinities are rendered in a notably Greek style.



WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE



The "Flower Genie"

This fourth- or fifth-century A.D. sculpture was found in a Buddhist monastery in Hadda, in eastern Afghanistan. It shows a *deva*, or god, bestowing flowers. The realistic sculptural technique comes from Greece.





BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE

A Buddha of Two Worlds

This Buddha sculpture has Hellenistic features, such as the clothing and the *krobylos*, a bun hairstyle. This is evidence of the Hellenization of the Kushan people by the second or third century A.D.

The Myth of Troy

Greek myths, like the Trojan horse, appeared in Gandhara art of the second or third century A.D. The woman with raised arms wears Indian clothing.

Buddhist Ceremony

This first- or second-century A.D. relief shows several people performing *pradakshina*, a procession around a stupa, a monument in which relics of Buddha are guarded. The figures wear tunics draped in the Hellenistic style.



BRITISH MUSEUM/SCALA, FLORENCE



WERNER FORMAN/GTRES



A NEW EMPEROR FOR A NEW AGE

Having become the sole ruler of the Roman Empire in 324, Constantine founded his capital on the Bosphorus in 330. The city quickly became the hub of the empire; within decades, gold coins were minted showing Constantinople personified as the "New Rome" (opposite).

LUISA RICCIARINI/PRISMA ARCHIVO/MONEY MUSEUM, ZÜRICH



CONSTANTINOPLE

THE NEW ROME

In the fourth century A.D., the Roman Empire was poised for rebirth. Rome had declined over the years, stressed by power struggles, foreign invasions, and religious strife. After Constantine took power, glory would return to the empire from his new city on the shores of the Bosphorus.

The modern-day city of Istanbul occupies a stretch of land along the Bosphorus, the body of water that links the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. This place, where Europe and Asia meet, has always been of great strategic value, a fact not lost on Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. In his time, an old Greek settlement, Byzantium, was located there, and Constantine chose this place for his new capital. In May 330, the emperor presided over a solemn ceremony to reconsecrate the city at the mouth of the Bosphorus. Named for its mighty founder, Constantinople would become the new center of the Roman Empire and the axis around which power and religion in the Mediterranean world turned for nearly a millennium.

Constantine's New Age of Empire

In 306, Constantine set himself on the path to power, emerging as sole victor in 324. From Constantinople, he planted the seeds for a new era of the Roman Empire.



CONSTANTINE AND HIS MOTHER, ST. HELENA

306

The augustus tetrarch Constantius Chlorus dies. His son Constantine is proclaimed his successor by troops loyal to his father near York, in modern-day England.

324

Constantine routs Licinius at Adrianople. Having withdrawn to Byzantium, Licinius later engages with Constantine at Chrysopolis, where he is defeated.



CONSTANTINE'S BAPTISM SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH

SCALA, FLORENCE

293

The emperor Diocletian divides imperial rule under a new system of tetrarchy. Two tetrarchs of senior rank are titled augustus; the two junior take the title of caesar.



TETRARCHS DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, AND THEIR TWO CAESARS

312

Constantine defeats his main rival, Maxentius, at the Battle of Milvian Bridge to become emperor of the West. His brother-in-law Licinius is emperor of the East.

330

Now sole emperor, Constantine renames Byzantium after himself and makes it his seat of operations. The eastern city will rise as Rome declines in importance.

337

Before his death, Constantine is baptized and officially converts to Christianity. He is succeeded by his son, Constantius II, who reigns until 361.



Even before Constantinople's birth, the city of Rome had already become the central capital in name only. Power in the empire had split apart as Rome faced foes on its frontiers. In order to keep outside threats in check, strong leaders were needed in different regions of the empire. By the end of the third century and in the early years of the fourth, there were various de facto capitals—one for each of its four emperors, who held power simultaneously.

Known as the tetrarchy, this system of shared rule had been created in 293 by the emperor Diocletian. Two emperors were appointed to the lower rank of caesar, and two to the higher rank of augustus. The cities in which the tetrarchs were based were Mediolanum, modern-day Milan in Italy; Sirmium in what is today Serbia; Augusta Treverorum, modern-day Trier in Germany; and Nicomedia, what is today called Izmit in Turkey, where Diocletian himself had made his home near the Bosphorus. These cities were highly developed urban centers, often containing sumptuous public buildings. But none came close to



REINHARD DIRSCHERL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

the majesty of Rome, with its exquisite public monuments and sculptures.

Solidifying Power

Constantine's father was Constantius Chlorus, one of the augustus tetrarchs appointed by Diocletian. Following the death of his father, Constantine was declared augustus by his troops in the year 306. This act almost immediately led to the collapse of the tetrarchy and plunged the Roman Empire into a civil war.

First, Constantine clashed with Maxentius, who also had a claim to Roman rule. Constantine defeated him at the Battle of Milvian Bridge in 312, a crucial victory that handed Constantine control of the western part of the empire. The battle also took on additional cultural significance when, as some sources report, Constantine credited his triumph to the Christian god, who sent him a vision the night before the battle. This moment would mark the beginning of a major attitude shift of the empire toward the fledgling religion.

Later he took on Licinius, the tetrarch of the

eastern part of the empire, finally winning decisive victories in 324. Following his crushing defeat at the Battle of Adrianople (Edirne in modern-day Turkey), Licinius and his troops were forced to take refuge in the fortified city of Byzantium. In September of that same year, Constantine's forces crushed Licinius once and for all at the Battle of Chrysopolis. Byzantium and the Roman Empire were his.

Now the sole ruler of the empire—as Diocletian had been until 293—Constantine decided to base himself in Byzantium. From here, Constantine could control various key border areas: the frontier running along the Danube River, under threat from Germanic tribes, as

THE SPLENDOR OF HOLY WISDOM

Hagia Sophia (above), meaning Holy Wisdom, was rebuilt in Constantinople in 532 on the site of a church built by Constantine II.

Constantine credited his **triumph** to the **Christian** god, marking a momentous shift in attitude toward the new faith.

Constantine's Eastern Campaign

Licinius, the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, was married to Constantine's sister. Despite the family ties and Licinius's advanced age—he was over 70—Constantine was determined to seize power as the sole Roman emperor.

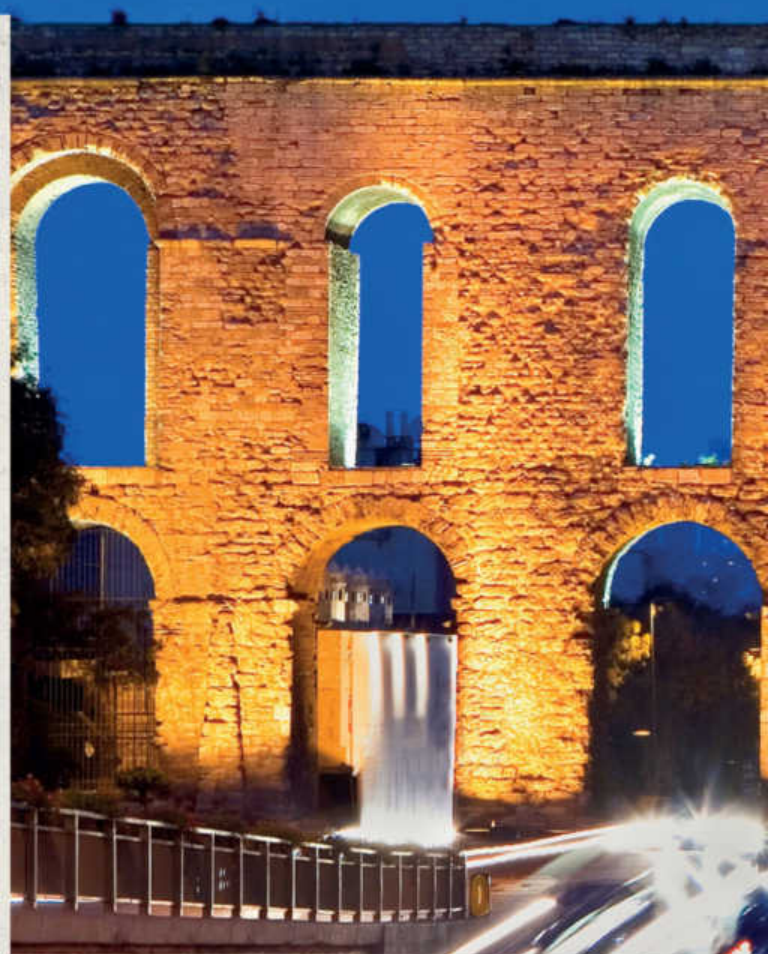
LAUNCHING HIS RUTHLESS offensive in 323, Constantine advanced from Thessalonica to Adrianople, where Licinius was encamped on the other side of the Hebrus River. Giving the impression he was constructing a bridge, Constantine discovered another section of the river that could easily be forded, well out of sight from Licinius and his army. Crossing there with a force of cavalry, Constantine's surprise attack was

devastatingly effective: As many as 34,000 of Licinius's men were slaughtered. Licinius took refuge in Byzantium, which was then bloodily besieged by Crispus, one of Constantine's sons. His naval forces hammered by Crispus in the Dardanelles, Licinius evacuated Byzantium, only to be routed at Chrysopolis on the Asian shore. Constantine first had him exiled, and later ordered his execution on charges of rebellion.



CONSTANTINE
ATTACKS LICINIUS ON
THIS TAPESTRY BASED
ON A RUBENS WORK.

AKG/ALBUM



well as the eastern border along the Euphrates, which was under continual pressure from Sassanid Persia.

His creation of a grandiose city that would bear his name echoes the founding, 600 years earlier, of that other great city of the eastern Mediterranean, Alexandria, named for Alexander the Great. Constantine was also consciously following the Roman imperial tradition of naming cities after emperors—such as Adrianople, founded in A.D. 125 by the emperor Hadrian.

The founding of Constantinople was an attempt to usher in a new era of one empire with one emperor. Just as Augustus had reorganized and embellished Rome at the empire's beginning, Constantine set out to emulate him and create a magnificent city: a "New Rome."

Old and New Gods

Constantine's nuanced understanding of religion brought him great success. Shortly after succeeding his father as tetrarch in 306, he had declared the Roman sun god, Apollo, to be his divine protector, after a vision of the god prom-



LUCAS VALLECILLOS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

ised him dominion over the world and a reign of 30 years. This declaration showed his respect for the Roman gods.

But Constantine was not absolutely loyal to the old gods. He saw the appeal of Christianity as well. From the beginning of his reign, Constantine's policy toward Christians differed greatly from his predecessors. The great persecution began in 303, when the tetrarchy issued a series of edicts that persecuted Christians for their beliefs. Houses of worship were destroyed, and people were martyred. But after Constantine secured power, he treated Christians more favorably, granting them freedom of worship in 313 with the Edict of Milan.

Constantine needed inhabitants for his new city. Huge numbers of people in the surrounding area, exiled at the hands of his rival Licinius, were encouraged to move there. Pagans were still a demographic majority in the city; Constantine encouraged Christians to settle there as well, creating a "melting pot" from which a new, dynamic political elite emerged. Constantine knew he had to address any antagonism

between Christians and pagans. It was vital for the survival of the empire that it did not break out into hostility. Integrating Christians into the new state in a way that pagans could accept would be a delicate balancing act.

Divine Influences

As Constantinople began to develop and grow, Constantine made an effort to represent different faiths in a highly visual way. Eusebius of Caesarea, a Christian scholar and a near contemporary of Constantine, wrote of his conviction that the emperor had founded a totally Christian city: a "New Jerusalem" from which he sought to eradicate any remaining traces of paganism.

MONUMENTAL WORKS FOR A BOOMING CITY

Constructed 30 years after Constantine's death to bring water to the city, the Valens Aqueduct (above) stands today as a reminder of the city's Roman heritage.

Constantinople had a Pagan majority.
The emperor encouraged Christians to settle there, creating a melting pot.

Legends and Truths: The City's Early Days

Countless legends sprang up around the founding of the “New Rome,” and its origins. According to one such story, Constantine had originally chosen Chalcedon in modern-day Turkey to be his strategic city in the Eastern Roman Empire.

WHEN THE BUILDING started there, mysterious, terrifying eagles snatched up the workmen, carrying them to Byzantium. On being informed of this dread spectacle, Constantine saw it as a warning from heaven and decided to construct the new city on the Bosphorus. Other chroniclers note the rather more mundane details that characterized the city in its earliest years. Some accounts record the remarkable speed with which the city was constructed, taking barely six years to reach completion, between 324 and 330. Such haste had its downsides. The sixth-century historian Zosimus wrote that not only did Constantine spend public funds on unnecessary and useless buildings, but some were so poorly built they collapsed. Other accounts describe how the new city, for all its splendor, soon became overcrowded and unhygienic.



PETER PAUL RUBENS
PAINTED THE CITY'S
LEGENDARY FOUNDING.

AGFALBUM



Other aspects of the new city, however, point to a more fluid religious policy, in which Christian and pagan culture could coexist. For instance, the imperial mausoleum Constantine built for himself reflected both divine influences. Twelve sarcophagi would surround his tomb, each destined to hold relics of Christ's Apostles. By stark contrast, he erected a huge stone column bearing a statue of himself as the sun god, Apollo, in the middle of the vast central forum.

Adopting a Christian approach when it came to the afterlife (before dying in 337, Constantine was reportedly baptized a Christian on his deathbed)—but using pagan imagery to represent the power he held on Earth—was clearly not only a conscious decision but also a calculated and shrewd one. Ties with the pagan world were too recent, and too important, to be broken too quickly.

In Rome's city center, there was a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad: the three gods Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Constantinople's forum also boasted a sanctuary honoring



them. As in the former imperial capital, public life and pagan ritual went hand in hand under Constantine. The city's squares and public spaces were soon filled with statues representing the old Greco-Roman gods.

The dual pagan and Christian nature of Constantine's city owed as much to day-to-day pragmatism as to imperial strategy. In practice, however, Christianity and the cult of the sun did share similar traits. Both used the "Light of the world" as a central, redemptive symbol. Christianity owed much else to pagan, Hellenist influences, not least the Greek idea of *logos*: the divine word or holy wisdom—a concept that would become woven into the very fabric of the new city in ways still clearly visible today.

It was Constantine's son who built the first church dedicated to *logos*; later, it would be rebuilt as the magnificent structure known to this day as the Hagia Sophia, the Greek term for "holy wisdom." The epitome of Byzantine architecture, the Hagia Sophia was the largest cathedral in the world for a time.

Cities Rise and Fall

Constantine's city continued to flourish as Rome continued to decline. At the peak of its splendor, Constantinople extended across an area some five times larger than that of the original city of Byzantium. From one side to the other ran a great central boulevard, crossing the enormous forum at the center, the entire urban area encircled by walls. The luxurious Baths of Zeuxippus, and the hippodrome where chariot races were held, were improved and expanded by Constantine, and in time this city on the Bosphorus really did become another Rome.

The old Rome, meanwhile, had become a faded relic, too weak to defend itself from the devastating attacks by Germanic forces in the fifth century. When the Western Roman Empire finally fell in 476, Rome's imperial era came to an end. From this point on, Constantinople was no longer the other Rome. It had become the empire itself. ■

THE CITY AND THE CATHEDRAL

In this mosaic from the Hagia Sophia, Constantine (right) offers up Constantinople to the Virgin; Justinian (left) offers her the Hagia Sophia itself.

MANUEL COHEN/AURIMAGES

RAQUEL LÓPEZ MELERO
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AN EMPEROR'S PALACE

In his new capital on the Bosphorus, Constantine had a lavish residence built on a hillside that stretched from the hippodrome to the sea. Following a devastating fire in 532, the Great Palace was reconstructed by the emperor Justinian I.

BASILICA OF THE HAGIA SOPHIA

In 532, Justinian I built today's basilica on the site of two previous churches, both destroyed by fire.

Magnaura Palace

Chalke Gate

Baths of Zeuxippus

Palace of Lausus

Palace of Antioch

MESE

The main street through the city, flanked by columns, shops, and statues

AUGUSTEO

A market in the time of Constantine, it was turned into a square enclosed by porticoes in the sixth century.

HIPPODROME

Begun in 203 by Septimius Severus, Constantine enlarged it to accommodate up to 80,000 people.



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CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE 11TH CENTURY



SEE ENLARGED ILLUSTRATION

CITY WALLS

Constantine protected his city with a magnificent wall, later embellished by Theodosius II between 412 and 422.

City wall of Theodosius

City wall of Constantine

Forum of Bovis

Church of the Holy Apostles

Forum of Constantine

Forum of Arcadius

Forum of Taurus

The Expansion of Constantinople

Said to be built on seven hills like Rome, Constantinople would become the richest and most important city in the Christian world for almost a thousand years. Successive emperors constructed magnificent new buildings and protected the city with formidable defenses.

PETER DENISOK IMAGES

THE IMPERIAL RESIDENCE

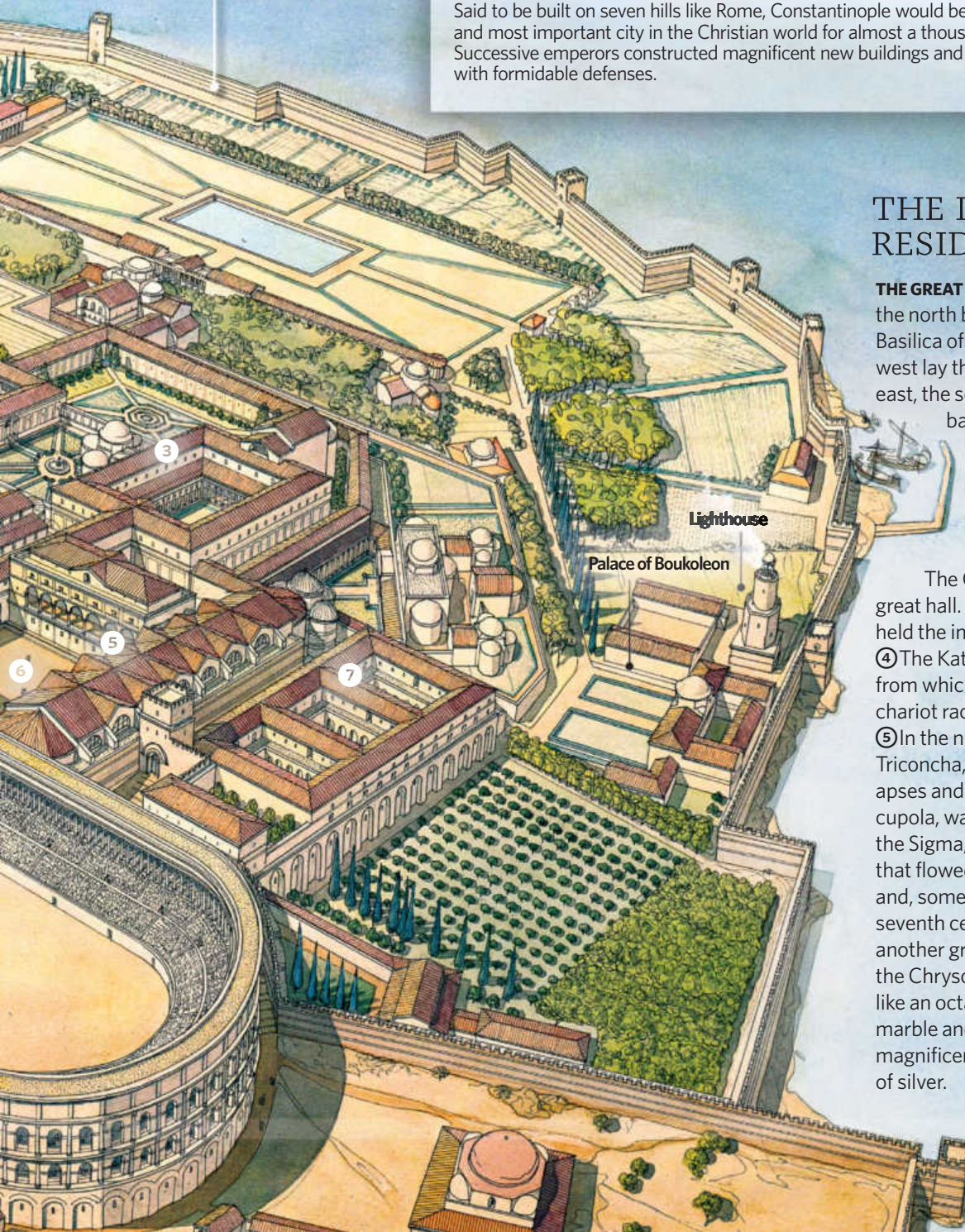
THE GREAT PALACE was flanked to the north by the Augusteo and the Basilica of the Hagia Sophia. To the west lay the hippodrome, and to the east, the sea. The site included the barracks of the palace guard.

① In front of the barracks was the Triclinium of the Nineteen Couches, built in the fourth century as a banqueting hall. ②

The Consisterium was another great hall. ③ The Palace of Daphne held the imperial living quarters.

④ The Kathisma was the balcony from which emperors could watch chariot races in the hippodrome.

⑤ In the ninth century, the Triconcha, a throne room with three apses and topped with a golden cupola, was built. ⑥ In front stood the Sigma, an atrium with fountains that flowed with perfumed water and, sometimes, wine. ⑦ In the seventh century, Justinian II built another great throne room, dubbed the Chrysotriklinos. It was shaped like an octagon, embellished with marble and mosaics, and had magnificent entrance doors made of silver.



Lighthouse

Palace of Boukoleon



THE SPANISH TERROR

Holding Spain in its grip for more than three centuries, the Spanish Inquisition relied on fear, ruthlessness, and public violence to enforce devotion to the church.

Had Francisco de Enzinas not fled abroad, he would have faced two horrible alternatives: years of imprisonment or a painful, ignominious death. A Protestant scholar from the northern Spanish city of Burgos, Enzinas was loathed in his own land, a hatred he turned eloquently back onto his own persecutors in his writings.

“It is impossible to believe that these people are human,” Enzinas railed against the inquisitors in 1545. “In fact, they are . . . the spawn of Satan himself. Like the Furies, they have sacked Spain, stripping the wealthy of their estates, and consigning to perdition thousands of souls.” In a letter to a trusted friend, Enzinas wrote of how victims were accused of blasphemy, “smearing [their] name with the most heinous crimes.”

THEATER OF FEAR

Painted in 1490 as persecution intensified, Pedro Berruguete's painting depicts the dreadful public spectacle of the auto-da-fé. As part of this terrible ritual, inquisitors would arrive in a procession bearing the Holy Office's Standard of the Faith (opposite).

ORONÓZ/ALBUM/PHOTOAISA



Three Centuries of Terror

Founded as Spain was becoming a world power, the Spanish Inquisition grew from an irrational fear of heresy, regarded as a crime against both God and king. Having lasted for centuries, the Holy Office was abolished during the emergence of a more liberal state in the 19th century.



GOLD COIN, FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, CA 1500
ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

1559

Major autos-da-fé are staged, in which condemned Protestants from Castile and Andalusia are paraded before the public. King Philip II attends a spectacle in the northern city of Valladolid.

1808-1834

Suspended by Napoleon in 1808, the Spanish Inquisition undergoes a cycle of restoration and suppression for the next two decades. It is definitively abolished during Queen Isabella II's reign.

PHILIP II, STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF THE INQUISITION.
ANONYMOUS PORTRAIT

1478

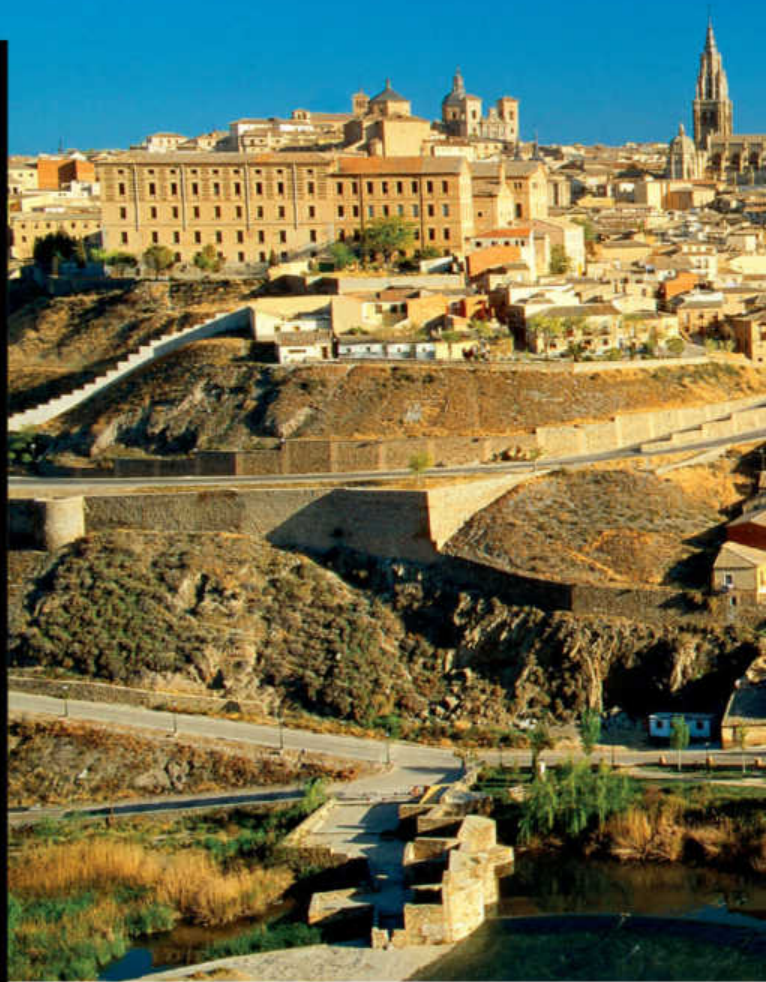
The monarchs of Spain, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, begin the Spanish Inquisition. The first auto-da-fé is held in Seville in 1481, presided over by Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada.

1502-1529

Alumbrados, members of a mystic sect, are also persecuted, accused of Protestant doctrines. Persecutions of the Moriscos (Muslim converts to Christianity) take place in Granada.

1610

An auto-da-fé is held in the northern city of Logroño to sentence 40 people accused of witchcraft. Some accounts report that 11 are burned at the stake.



Enzinas had personal knowledge of such persecution. His brother, Diego, was soon to find himself accused by the Roman Inquisition of propagating Lutheran doctrines, and was tortured and later burned at the stake in 1547.

"Everything is done in secret," Enzinas wrote. "Accusers, witnesses, even the accusation itself—all are hidden from sight, and you, the accused are told, and know, nothing." The methods Enzinas chronicled were common in the countries where the Inquisition had been established: Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas and Asia. Secret trials, torture, prisons, and bonfires were the instruments by which inquisitors imposed terror on these huge populations, and why, in its long existence, resistance was very rare.

A Sin and a Crime

The Spanish Inquisition had its origins as part of a larger movement to wipe out perceived enemies of the church and society. Beginning in the 11th century, the Catholic Church set up local tribunals to root out heresy in



lands under the supervision of the pope. At first active in northern Italy and southern France, the Inquisition developed into a larger bureaucratic organization with immense power. It had the ability to accuse, imprison, torture, and execute anyone suspected of being a heretic.

The legal proceedings of the Inquisition were based on common law. There was, however, one notable difference: The aim of the Inquisition was to pursue heresy, characterizing it as both a sin and a crime. Heresy was seen as an attack both on God and, at the same time, on the established social order—a dual legal understanding that continued until the 18th century.

In 1376, the Spanish inquisitor Nicolás Eymeric wrote a procedural manual for his colleagues, the *Directorium inquisitorum*, which clearly states the threat of heresy to the state: “By its effects, institutions and material goods become corrupt. From heresy are born revolts and sedition.” So heinous a crime called for draconian measures, and the Holy Office was equipped with far-reaching powers to severely punish those suspected of falling into error.

Spain’s Heretics

The Spanish Inquisition began when King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella founded the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in 1478 to serve the needs of an emerging superpower. Having triumphantly “reconquered” the remaining pockets of Muslim-held Iberia, Spain forced the Jews and Muslims who lived there to convert to Christianity. Former Jews, called conversos, were often believed to be practicing their old faith and considered heretics. In the 40 years after its founding, the persecution of conversos was carried out with particular brutality.

By the 16th century, the Inquisition targeted the converted Muslims, called Moriscos, as well.

TERROR IN TOLEDO

Toledo (above) held its first auto da fé in 1486. Some accounts say that 250 people were executed and an additional 500 burned in effigy, the majority of whom were conversos.

GIOVANNI SIMEONE/FOTOTECA

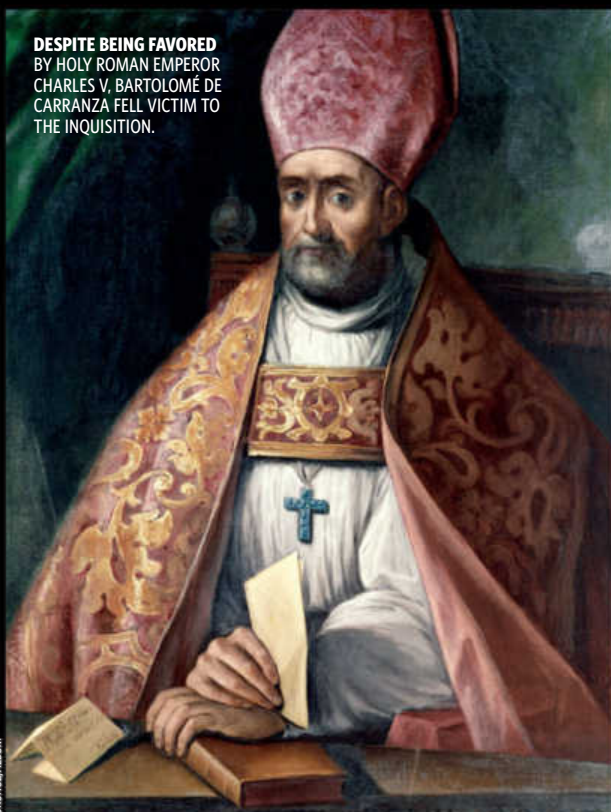
Following **Luther’s** challenge to papal power in 1517, the Inquisition identified a new and growing threat: **Protestantism**.

An Archbishop Accused

If one case demonstrates most clearly the absolute power of the Inquisition, it was that of Bartolomé de Carranza. As Archbishop of Toledo, Carranza was the highest ranking prelate in Spain.

BUT HE RAN AFOUL of the Inquisition and spent the last 17 years of his life languishing in jail. A Dominican friar of modest background, he was ultimately promoted to the see of Toledo by Philip II. Before his elevation, however, Carranza had been traveling in England and Flanders, where he may well have fallen under the influence of Lutheranism. A book he had published in Antwerp aroused suspicions. The theologian Melchor Cano reported that the work contained “many rash, scandalous and coarse propositions, some erroneous and others that smack of heresy.” The Grand Inquisitor, Fernando de Valdés, who himself coveted the archbishopric of Toledo, accused the incumbent of Lutheranism. Carranza was jailed in Valladolid and Rome, ignorant of the identity of his accusers. He was finally released in 1576 but tragically died 18 days after gaining his freedom.

DESPITE BEING FAVORED BY HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR CHARLES V, BARTOLOMÉ DE CARRANZA FELL VICTIM TO THE INQUISITION.



In 1502, the Alumbrado, a mystic sect suspected of heretical interpretations of the Bible, also fell under the Holy Office’s suspicions. Following the Lutheran challenge to papal power in 1517, the Inquisition in Spain and across Europe quickly identified a new, and growing, threat: Protestantism.

After the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1564, the Spanish Inquisition extended its oversight to the religious thinking and ethical practices of the whole populace. Bigamy, blasphemy, witchcraft, homosexuality, priests who attempted to seduce women while administering confession, as well as publications regarded as an attack on Catholic orthodoxy, were just some of the offenses brought before the inquisitorial courts.

As late as the 18th century, the Inquisition was monitoring such diverse “outsider” groups as Freemasons, deists, freethinking philosophers, and political dissidents. The last death sentence carried out on the orders of the Holy Office was in 1826, when a Valencia schoolteacher, Cayetano Ripoll, was hung for his deist beliefs and



teachings. Following several unsuccessful attempts to curtail its activities, the Spanish Inquisition was only definitively abolished in 1834. During its entire existence, historians estimate that roughly 200,000 people were arrested by the Spanish Inquisition.

Securing a Confession

The inquisitorial process had one single, overriding goal: to obtain confession. “The sin of heresy is conceived in the understanding and is hidden in the soul,” declares an Inquisition manual. “It is evident, therefore, that there is not more convincing proof than the confession of an accused.” To obtain these confessions, inquisitors had a wide variety of options from which to choose.

Official legal proceedings began with an investigation. A suspect would be reported to the tribunal, and an inquisitor would establish if that person had heretical views. Such maneuverings were kept secret, the suspects themselves often unaware of the inquiries being made behind their backs.

If sufficient “evidence” was collected, he or she would be arrested and imprisoned. The prisoners, still ignorant of the charges against them, would appear before three sessions for interrogation. Only after these had taken place would they be informed of the actual accusation. But names of witnesses, places, or other details would still be denied them.

Only in the later stages of the trial would the accused be provided with the services of a defense counsel. This was rarely the occasion for much hope: Many such figures often counseled their client to confess their guilt.

Following a perfunctory defense, witnesses were called. Able, at last, to identify individuals

URBAN PRESENCE

Almost 100 years after the Spanish Inquisition’s founding, an inquisitorial court opened in Santiago de Compostela (above). From this point on, the Inquisition had a presence in all of Spain’s major cities.

GÜNTER GRAFENHAIN/FOTOTECA

In the Spanish Inquisition’s **long history**, the **number of people** arrested is thought to be around 200,000.

Inhumane Interrogation Tactics

Around 1710, Italian artist Alessandro Magnasco painted this macabre scene of different torture methods used to secure confessions. Scholars still debate how prevalent torture actually was.

① **PRISON** The accused could be held indefinitely and were kept unaware of the charges against them, even during questioning.

② **CHAINED** It was not uncommon for prisoners to remain permanently shackled in jail. Some were gagged, and others were subjected to the *pie de amigo*—friend's foot—a neck brace with spikes.

③ **INQUISITORS** Torture sessions were attended by the inquisitors and a secretary to record procedures and confessions.

④ **THE STRAPPADO** Hands tied behind their back, victims were suspended by a rope tied to the wrists. They were then dropped a short distance before the rope “caught” them and jerked their bodies upward, often causing severe dislocations.

⑤ **THE RACK** Tied to a frame, a prisoner's limbs were slowly stretched until dislocated.

⑥ **THE STOCKS** Escapees or unruly inmates might be punished by having their feet and hands restrained, forcing them into a painful sitting position.



who might be shown to bear a grudge against them, the accused could sometimes persuade prosecutors to declare certain witnesses invalid.

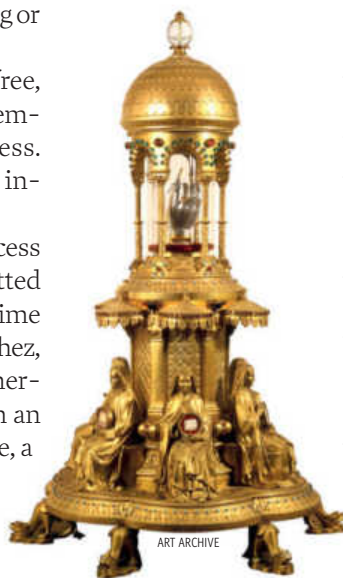
Such concessions, however, did little to protect prisoners against the ubiquitous inquisitorial network of neighborly betrayal and gossip. Neighbors and acquaintances were encouraged to inform on suspects, especially in cases of alleged witchcraft. Against this backdrop of snooping, rumors, and paranoia, a telling Spanish refrain ran: “When it comes to Pope, King or Inquisition, one word will do: Shhh!”

Such discretion might work well when free, but once under arrest, prisoners found themselves in a position of utter defenselessness. Most never found out who had originally informed on them.

As the mighty jaws of the inquisitorial process closed around them, many prisoners submitted to panic and terror. The chronicles of the time abound with tales of desperation. Juana Sanchez, a lay sister from Valladolid accused of Lutheranism, cut her own throat with scissors in an inquisitorial dungeon in 1559. A year before, a

RELIQUARY OF ST. TERESA

Not all conversos were persecuted. St. Teresa of Ávila, a mystic who played a key role in the Catholic Counter-Reformation, was descended from Jewish converts.



priest named Pedro de Cazalla, also accused of propagating Lutheran ideas, requested that his inquisitors speed up the torment of his trial. His wretched state was psychological as well as physical, suffering “palsy, as well as such great torments of heart that he must have a lamp lit at night to lighten his great darkness.”

Private Torture, Public Shame

If the trial had failed to yield a confession, the inquisitors had a final resort: torture. Tales of the grim methods of the inquisitorial jails would have had a deeply chilling effect on wider Spanish society. In recent years, historians have presented a nuanced account of the use of torture, arguing that although some extremely cruel techniques were employed—the strappado and the rack—such methods were used far less than in secular prisons.

As a rule, the death of the prisoner at the hands of the Inquisition was avoided. Mercy was not, however, the primary motive: “The accused shall be tortured,” a manual advises, “so that afterward, he might be either freed or executed.”

ALESSANDRO MAGNASCO'S
"A COURT OF THE INQUISITION" IS
TYPICAL OF THE 18TH-CENTURY
PAINTER'S DARK, EERIE SENSIBILITY.



THE GALLERY COLLECTION/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

The sentencing, and the meting out of punishment, was nearly always carried out in public. Making an example of the condemned was a powerful means by which the inquisitors guaranteed social acquiescence.

There were three types of punishment. The first was of the spiritual order, in which the guilty party was either excommunicated or—more commonly—had to make an act of abjuration: Either *de levi* in cases where the charges of heresy were slight, or *de vehementi*, where the charges were more serious.

The second type of punishment was economic. Assets were confiscated, and heavy fines imposed. The process whereby a prisoner was stripped of their property often began with incarceration, a practice that often placed the prisoner and their families in severe economic difficulties.

If the eventual sentence was light, the guilty party might hope for the goods to be returned, with fines deducted. If a heavier sentence was passed, the assets were definitively confiscated, spelling ruin and disgrace for the whole family.

The third type of punishment was physical: public whippings—usually consisting of 100 lashes—as well as enslavement in galleys, exile, or prison. Even these harsh sentences were preferable to the most dreaded of all: death.

From Sentence to the Stake

The condemned were executed as part of elaborate public spectacles known by the Portuguese term *autos da fé*—acts of faith. Many were held in Spain's great cathedral cities, such as Valladolid and Seville, with royalty in attendance. Ceremonies would typically start with a long procession in which the convicted were paraded in front of a crowd of spectators. Onlookers

Public sentencing was believed to guarantee social acquiescence by making examples of the condemned.

Champions of the Inquisition

Much of the Spanish population never questioned the existence or methods of the Holy Office. Many were simply afraid. Others justified inquisitorial violence because of their revulsion for heresy.

ONLY IN ARAGON was significant resistance recorded, the nobility clashing with the Inquisition for meddling in the region's affairs. In 1566, however, a chronicler reported "only the rulers and principal men there wage this war on the Holy Office, not the wider people." The Holy Office also had advocates among certain writers and thinkers. "Guardian of the Faith, bulwark against the heresy, light against the lies of our enemies . . ." declared theologian Luis de Granada in praise of the Inquisition. In *The Siege of Breda*, a play by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, a character witnesses Dutchmen being burned. He recalls, with discomfiting glee, the inquisitorial bonfires: "What damned scum! So many were tied to the stake, and it gave me such joy to see them burn, that I used to lean in to say to them, as I stoked the flames: 'Heretic dogs, I am of the Holy Inquisition!'"



A 1664 PAINTING
DEPICTS THE ALLEGED
MURDER OF INQUISITOR
PEDRO DE ARBUÉS BY
CONVERSOS IN 1495.



could witness how those who thought, spoke, or acted against the orthodoxy defined by the church could expect to be punished. Over the centuries, these proceedings became more elaborate, some taking on the atmosphere of a carnival. Sentences were read and carried out for all to see. Everything from physical punishments, prison sentences, and public burning could all take place.

The inquisitors sometimes spoke of these exercises in terror as a prefiguring of the Day of Judgment. The torments of hell, it was thought, did a better job of convincing people to adhere to orthodoxy than did the delights of heaven. If the accounts are to be believed, the cruelty reached barbaric levels in 1637, when the Inquisition in Valladolid forced Jewish converts, found guilty of desecrating an image of Christ, to listen to their sentence with their right hand nailed to a post. For all their humiliation and horror, however, not even the auto-da-fé marked the end of the ordeal.

The fascination and horror evoked by the Inquisition has tended to focus on the role of



public execution. While there is no doubt of the terror such sights awoke in those who witnessed them, the period in which the highest numbers of death sentences were passed was in the earliest years of the Holy Office. From then on, despite occasional spikes, the proportion of those put to death by the Inquisition in its history is around 3 percent of the total.

If prisoners did manage to secure release, it did not end their or their family's ordeal. Former prisoners had to undergo the humiliation of wearing the *sanbenito*, a yellow tunic on which was stitched a distinctive X-shaped cross in red. After death, the humiliation continued into successive generations: If descendants rebuilt a family's fortunes, they were barred from wearing silk or jewels. They could not bear arms or ride on horseback, enter a religious order, be appointed to public office, or travel to the Indies.

In 1590, Cristóbal Rodríguez of Salamanca, the descendant of a condemned man, was denounced for having taken up the position of a town councillor. Summoned before the court, he revealed a document detailing the confession of

adultery by his mother and that he was, in fact, the illegitimate son of a Catholic family.

Had his mother deliberately brought dishonor on herself to give her son a chance in life? A society in which it was preferable to be an illegitimate child of Christians than to be a legitimate son of conversos reveals the desperation in which so many Spaniards lived. Yet amid almost universal resignation and despair, proof of a few, rare sparks of defiance have survived.

In Juan Antonio Llorente's *A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain*—a publishing sensation when it first appeared in France in 1818—there is the story of a man accused in 1791 for believing in natural theology. Subjected to repeated abuse and torture in jail, he took his own life, but not before setting his anguished thoughts down on paper. Addressing God directly, he spoke for many in his denunciation of “this monstrous tribunal . . . that so dishonors humanity. And yet which You yourself permit.” ■

DEATH IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE

In 1680, a spectacular auto-da-fé was held in Madrid's Plaza Mayor (above), presided over by King Carlos II. Of the 118 prisoners sentenced that day, 19 were executed.

SANDRA RACCANELLO/GRAND TOUR/CORBIS/
CORDON PRESS

DORIS MORENO MARTÍNEZ

MORENO IS A HISTORY PROFESSOR AT THE AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA AND AUTHOR OF NUMEROUS BOOKS ON THE INQUISITION AND RENAISSANCE SPAIN.

THE ACCUSED TESTIFY
IN THIS 1819 PAINTING
OF AN AUTO-DA-FÉ BY
FRANCISCO GOYA.



CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS



THE HOLY OFFICE COMPILED THIS INDEX OF BANNED BOOKS IN 1583.

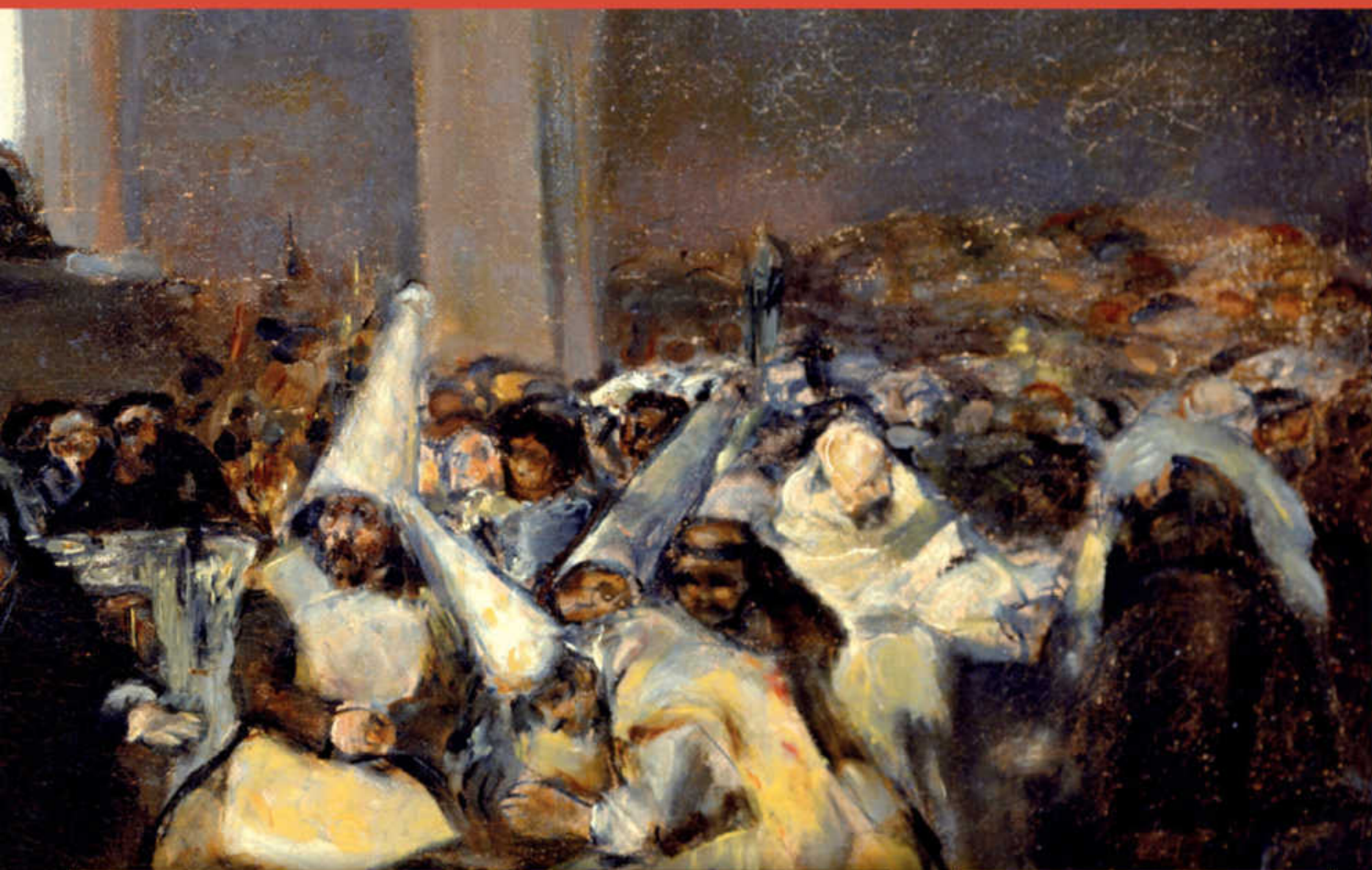
As well as monitoring the religious practices of Jewish and Muslim converts, the Inquisition functioned as a vice police across the whole population. Its courts dealt with a wide range of cases, including blasphemy, witchcraft, mysticism, bigamy, and pederasty. In all such cases, the inquisitors saw their aim as uncovering the heresy of the accused and imposing punishments that would set an example to others. Sentencing took place in the public arena of the autos-da-fé.

SUSPECTED WITCH

TOLEDO, 1591

ACCUSATION Following the sudden death of five children, several residents of a village accused three women, including Catalina Matheo, of having killed them using witchcraft. Arrested and tortured, Catalina confessed to nightly encounters with the devil, who had given her the powers to fly through the air to her neighbors' houses where she had carried out the infanticide.

SENTENCE Transferred to the court of the Toledo inquisition, Catalina declared she had confessed only out of fear of being tortured. When she was tortured a second time, she confessed once again. She was condemned to receive 200 lashes, and to be imprisoned for a period of time to be decided by the Holy Office.



BLASPHEMOUS PEASANT

GRANADA, 1595

ACCUSATION While staying in Granada, a humble shepherd was overheard revealing to his friends that he did not believe in the sacrament of confession. “What value has confession if it is carried out by a clergyman who is as sinful and imperfect as I am?” he asked. “The perfect confession would be that done with God alone.”

SENTENCE After interrogating him, the inquisitors ruled the accused was “rustic, ignorant, and of limited understanding.” In order to avoid his scandalous notions infecting the wider population, he was sentenced to seclusion for a period of time in a monastery where he would be properly educated in the principles of Catholic orthodoxy.

FRAUDULENT MYSTIC

SEVILLE, 1627

ACCUSATION Catalina de Jesús, a self-styled mystic, was reported to have rejected most religious rites, such as attending Mass, or worshipping the image of saints. She had reached, so she said of herself, “a state of perfection” that enabled her to communicate directly with God, “as having God within you means you have no need to seek Him without.”

SENTENCE More than 140 witnesses declared her piety to be a sham and that, in reality, the accused had been engaged in improper relations with various clergymen. In 1627, she was paraded in public wearing penitent clothing, was abjured *de levi*, and condemned to spend six years in a convent in fasting and prayer under the strict supervision of a confessor.

HERETIC BROTHERS

TOLEDO, 1637


ACCUSATION Juan and Enrique Núñez Saravia, Madrid bankers descended from Portuguese Jews, were accused of secretly practicing Jewish rites and of protecting others who did so. On arrest, Juan was put to torture and, although he confessed nothing that could be considered heretical, was accused of taking capital out of the country for Jewish causes abroad.

SENTENCE Juan was condemned to abjure *de vehementi*, and to pay a heavy fine of 20,000 ducats. Enrique had his property confiscated to the value of 300,000 ducats. The two brothers were sentenced in public, along with other condemned conversos, in the auto-da-fé held in Toledo on December 13, 1637. The sentence led to the economic ruin of both.



THE MAKING OF MACARTHUR

Not only one of the most celebrated generals of World War II, Douglas MacArthur was also one of the most distinguished military men in the history of civilization. A rough and rugged upbringing coupled with a strong sense of family honor and duty shaped MacArthur into a powerful protector of freedom.



FIVE STARS

One of only four U.S. Army officers to become a five-star general, Gen. Douglas MacArthur devoted nearly 50 years of his life to the service of his country.

BETTMANN/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS



THE GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

FAMILY TRADITION

The son of an Army general, MacArthur (far left) grew up on various military bases, including Fort Selden, where he learned to ride and shoot in the rugged spaces of New Mexico (right).

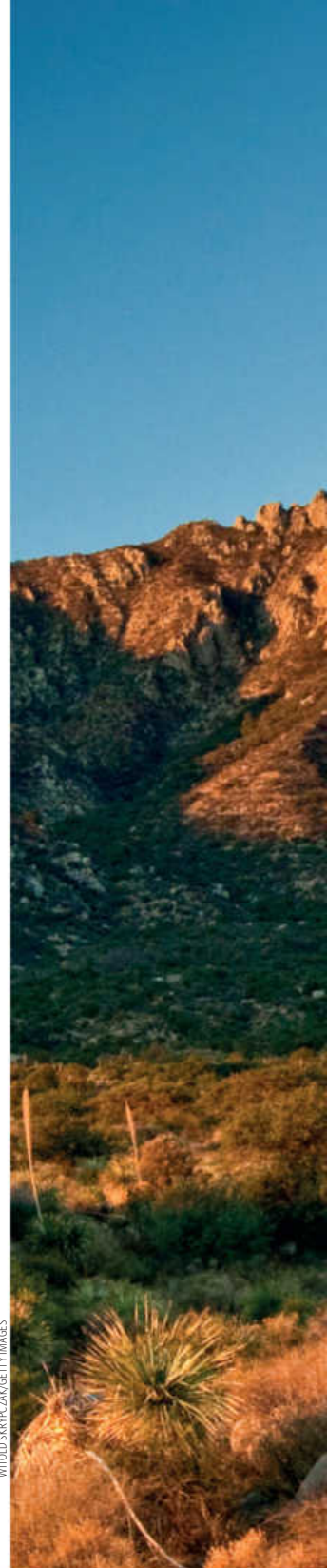
Douglas MacArthur was many things to many people, including himself. His professional record speaks for itself: He was the youngest combat general in the First World War when, in France, his bravery earned him two Distinguished Service Crosses and seven Silver Stars—the U.S. Army’s second and third highest honors for valor, respectively. Afterward, he became the youngest superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, and in turn the youngest chief of staff of the U.S. Army. His valor and service led him to become one of only four five-star generals in U.S. history.

MacArthur’s personality was complex, an astonishing contradiction in both the Army and in his life—dedicated, innovative, courteous, charming, and brilliant, absolutely fearless. He was also arrogant, eccentric, abrasive, flamboyant, and imperious.

He was a killer who also hated killing. In combat he was unrelenting, and yet went to great extremes to keep his men from harm. He was a brilliant organizer, which led to his becoming chief of staff, and he was as well a peacemaker, which his service in occupied Japan demonstrated.

It was frequently said that MacArthur, trained as an engineer, had an astonishing

WITOLD SKRYPCZAK/GETTY IMAGES



A MILITARY LIFE

JANUARY 26, 1880

THE YOUNGEST of three sons, Douglas MacArthur is born on a U.S. Army base in Little Rock, Arkansas. His father, Arthur MacArthur, was a hero of the Civil War.

JUNE 11, 1903

MACARTHUR graduates first in his class from West Point. His first postgraduate assignment is the elite U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

AUGUST 1917

PROMOTED to colonel, MacArthur goes on to command the newly formed 42nd Rainbow Division, assigned to Europe’s western front in World War I.



JULY 26, 1941

MACARTHUR is named U.S. Army Forces commander in the Far East in World War II. He goes on to be Supreme Allied Commander in the Pacific.

APRIL 11, 1951

PRESIDENT Truman relieves MacArthur of command in Korea. Several days later, he delivers a farewell address to a joint session of Congress.



THE GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY

MacArthur (left) thrived at West Point (right), becoming First Captain and academic champion of his year. He would return as school superintendent from 1919 to 1922.

breadth of knowledge of ancient and modern history, economics, geopolitics, literature, and the Bible. Every night when he could, he went to the movies. He was sometimes a baffling man whose habits seemed peculiar: One story has him during the fierce New Guinea Campaign pacing daily about his shabby jungle headquarters dressed in a pink kimono, alternately puffing on his eternal corn cob pipe and munching on a head of lettuce that he ordered by the crateful.

How did he become all these things? A look at Douglas MacArthur's childhood and upbringing give rich clues to the things that indelibly shaped the rest of his eventful life.

Battle Born

Born in 1880 at Fort Dodge, Arkansas, MacArthur was fated to spend much of his childhood at a series of Army outposts in the West, each more godforsaken than the last.

His father, Arthur MacArthur, Jr., was an Army captain who had won the Congressional Medal of Honor in the Civil War and decided to make the military a career. As a youth, MacArthur remembered seeing a band of unhappy Apache warriors shoot a salvo of flaming

arrows over the wall of tiny Fort Selden on the Mexican Border where he "learned to ride and shoot" before he could read and write. The first sound he ever remembered hearing was the post bugle, and while others suffered in this "Gethsemane" of heat and dust and cold and dust, interspersed by storms, flash floods, rattlesnakes, even Gila monsters, young Douglas MacArthur flourished.

His mother, Mary "Pinky" MacArthur, came from old Virginia stock (three of her brothers had been Confederate officers). She instilled in MacArthur a strong sense of moral obligation: "We were to do right, no matter what the personal sacrifice might be," he wrote in his memoir long afterward. "Our country was always to come first. Two things we must never do—never lie, never tattle."

Because of his father's military career, MacArthur's family moved around a lot, which exposed him to a wide variety of environments and people. MacArthur's entry into first grade coincided with his father's transfer to the U.S. Infantry and Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1886. His wild upbringing in the western deserts had not prepared him for formal schooling, and by his own account he



DANITA DELMONTGETTY IMAGES



FIVE-STAR FASHION SENSE

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR was legendary throughout his career for his unorthodox choice of uniform. His most iconic look dates to World War II, when he was known for the “crushed” hat with the gold “scrambled eggs” embroidered on its band and bill and his trademark corncob pipe and sunglasses. This unique fashion sense began in the 1900s. In World War I, he could be seen giving pep talks to his men and their officers in the trenches. Rather than wearing a helmet or carrying a pistol, he favored donning a gray turtleneck sweater, a long, drooping scarf knitted by his mother, his jaunty officer’s cap with the grommet removed, and carrying, for some reason, a riding crop.



GRANGER COLLECTION/AGE FOTOSTOCK

SHARP-DRESSED MAN

Wearing a fur coat and flowing scarf (left), MacArthur cut a distinctive figure in war-torn France in World War I.

did not fare well in the classroom. When he was ten, new vistas opened for MacArthur upon his father’s transfer to Washington D.C., where his grandfather Arthur MacArthur was a prominent federal judge. This exposed the unworldly youth to the “glitter and pomp” of society in the nation’s capital where, in overhearing adult conversations, he got a taste of the political, social, and financial intrigues of the day.

Another Army transfer found a 13-year-old MacArthur at the West Texas Military Academy near Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio where, in his own words, his horizons were expanded “with a desire to know, a seeking of the reason’s why, a search for the truth.” He recalled those years as the happiest of his life, studying Homer and Virgil in Latin and translating *The Iliad* and *The Aeneid*, epic works that conveyed to him the “nerve-tingling battlefields of the great captains.” Academic honors and medals came his way and he played sports—first team in football and baseball. In short, Douglas MacArthur had found himself.

West Point Man

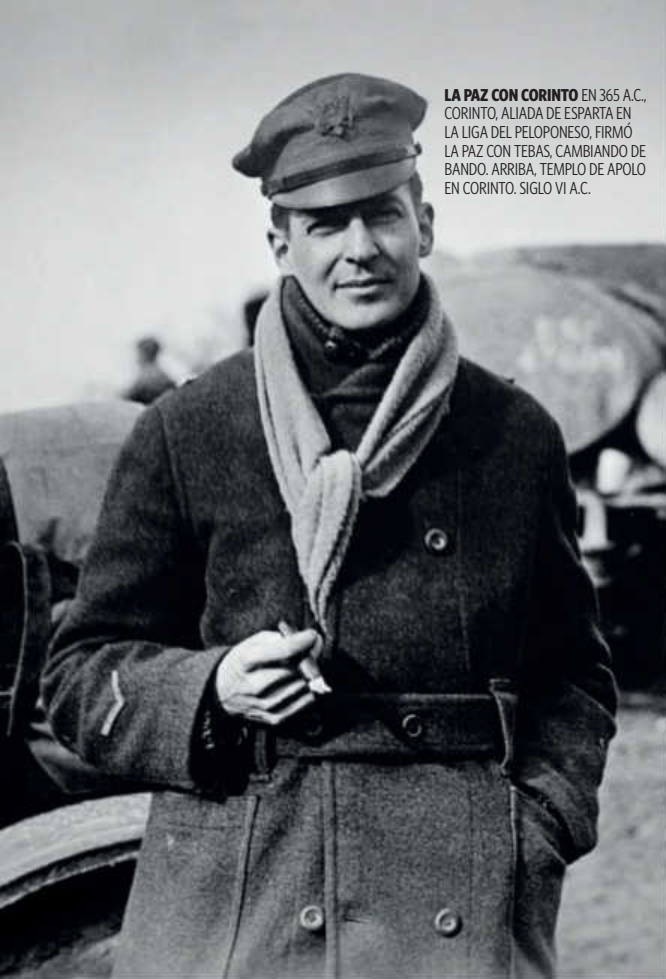
By then his father was an Army colonel, and it was a foregone decision that MacArthur would

enroll at the U.S. Military Academy. Then, aspiring West Pointers were given a competitive exam by their appointing congressmen and MacArthur in the spring of 1898 passed with flying colors—of 13 applicants, he scored the highest, with a 99.3 average compared with the next man’s 77.6.

MacArthur arrived at West Point accompanied by his mother, who took a suite in a local hotel. Plebe year was rough due to the merciless hazing by upperclassmen, and MacArthur came in for his share. He was forced to do a hundred “eagles”—deep knee bends over the jagged glass of broken bottles, flapping the arms like a bird—all of this while upperclassmen ridiculed his father’s Civil War record and shouted insults in his face until he was covered in spittle. After hours of this, he lapsed into a convulsive faint. When at last he was able to return to his bunk that night, his legs were shaking uncontrollably and he asked his roommate to stuff a blanket into his mouth if he began to cry out. Afterward, he privately vowed never to haze a fellow cadet and if it ever became possible, he intended to put an end to the practice—which he did when he became superintendent following World War I.

HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

ADOC-PHOTOS/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS



LA PAZ CON CORINTO EN 365 A.C., CORINTO, ALIADA DE ESPARTA EN LA LIGA DEL PELOPONESO, FIRMO LA PAZ CON TEBAS, CAMBIANDO DE BANDO. ARRIBA, TEMPLO DE APOLO EN CORINTO. SIGLO VI A.C.



INTERFOTO/AGE FOTOSTOCK

RISE THROUGH THE RANKS MacArthur (above left, in 1917) won the devoted trust of his men on the western front in World War I. Aloof to some, comradely to many others, a military genius in the eyes of all, MacArthur was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross by Gen. John Pershing in 1918 (above right). The U.S. Army played a key role in the war's closing events, such as the Battle of Cantigny (below), which helped push the German forces into retreat.



STAR-SPANGLED GENERALS

THERE ARE FIVE RANKS for generals in the U.S. Army. A single-star brigadier general, in theory, leads a brigade. These are arranged with four squads to a platoon, which come four platoons to a company—four to as many as eight of which make up a battalion—several more of which form a brigade of 4,000 to 6,000 men. A two-star major general commands a division, which is composed of several brigades. A three-star lieutenant general commands an army corps, a four-star general of the army commands an army consisting of several corps, and a five-star general of the armies commands more than one army, such as Gen. Douglas MacArthur did in the Pacific theater in World War II.



CSP GUARDING/AGE FOTOSTOCK

GENERALS OF THE ARMY

Dwight D. Eisenhower, George C. Marshall, and Douglas MacArthur all became five-star generals during World War II.

MacArthur thrived at West Point. He lettered in baseball and scored the winning run in West Point's 1901 4-3 first ever victory over Annapolis. When it was time to announce First Captain—highest honor at the academy—MacArthur was chosen. He also held the highest academic record his senior year. He had developed an almost uncanny intuitiveness that left his instructors and tactical officers in awe. “He had style,” said a fellow classmate. “There was never another cadet quite like him.”

Glorious Career

After West Point, MacArthur served in the elite Army Corps of Engineers, an auspicious beginning to his military career. His first decade was extremely successful, marked by frequent promotions and international assignments, including the Philippines, Japan, and Mexico, among others.

In World War I, MacArthur, now a colonel, led the 42nd Division (the so-called Rainbow Division, a National Guard unit composed of soldiers from a number of states). In 1918, he participated in the St.-Mihiel, Meuse-Argonne, and Sedan offensives, during which he repeatedly distinguished himself as a capable military leader.

After the war's end, MacArthur served as the superintendent of West Point for three years. For the 1920s and '30s, he continued to hold various military posts, including chief of staff of the United States Army. But in 1937, he retired from the Army to become the field marshal of the Philippine Army, which was preparing a defense against a possible Japanese invasion.

Following the onset of World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt recalled MacArthur to active duty in the U.S. Army. MacArthur turned disaster into triumph after the

“But I still remember ... the ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that ‘Old soldiers never die, they just fade away.’”

FAREWELL SPEECH TO CONGRESS, 1951. MACARTHUR'S PIPE, HAT, AND SUNGLASSES

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

HOLLYWOOD ARCHIVE/AGE FOTOSTOCK

BETTMANN/CORBIS/CORBIS PRESS





BY SEA AND BY AIR Above: In 1944, MacArthur purposefully strides ashore at Leyte in the Philippines during the U.S. Army's grueling campaign to take back the islands from Japanese troops, and fulfilling his promise—"I shall return"—made to the Filipino people after his withdrawal from Bataan. Below: His retreat from the Philippines a very distant memory, a victorious MacArthur arrives in Japan in 1945, following the empire's defeat.





RUE DES ARCHIVES/ALBUM

WAR IS OVER

On behalf of the Allied powers, MacArthur signed the Japanese Instrument of Surrender in September 1945 aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri* (left).

Japanese overwhelmed his army in the Philippines and he managed to escape to Australia where he was awarded the Medal of Honor, as his father before him, and made commander of Allied forces in that far off part of the world. It took him more than three years to fight his way up the island chains, but in the end MacArthur liberated the Philippines, fulfilling his vow of “I shall return” to the Filipino people. He presided over the surrender of Japan in 1945, and as supreme Allied commander he successfully reconstructed not only Japan but its people into a peaceful, modern state.

An Old Soldier

When in 1950 war broke out in South Korea, MacArthur once again found himself at the head of a huge international army, fighting the North Koreans and Chinese Communists. The following year, however, President Harry S. Truman relieved MacArthur for insubordination when he refused to follow Truman’s doctrine seeking a limited war. When his plane landed in San Francisco, MacArthur was mobbed by nearly a quarter million admirers, and in Washington he made such a stirring speech to a joint session of Congress that it

almost caused a riot. This prompted the Speaker of the House to declare he’d never heard such an outpouring of empathy in 50 years of politics and to observe, “There was not a dry eye on the Democratic side of the House . . . nor a dry seat among the Republicans.”

When in 1964 MacArthur died at the age of 84, his body lay in state by order of President Lyndon B. Johnson in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, where it was visited by 150,000 people. His rugged childhood and his antique sense of honor, instilled in him both by his family and his time at West Point, had prepared this extraordinary man for his remarkable journey through life. ■

About the author...

WINSTON GROOM is the author of 19 previous books, including: *Forrest Gump*; *The Aviators*; *Conversations With the Enemy* (nominated for a Pulitzer Prize); 1942: *The Year That Tried Men’s Souls*; *Vicksburg: 1863*; and *Shiloh, 1862*. A veteran, he served in Vietnam in 1966–67 as an officer with the First Brigade of the Fourth Infantry Division. This article is excerpted from his book *The Generals: Patton, MacArthur, Marshall, and the Winning of World War II*, published by National Geographic in 2015.

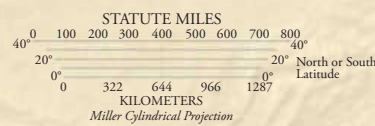
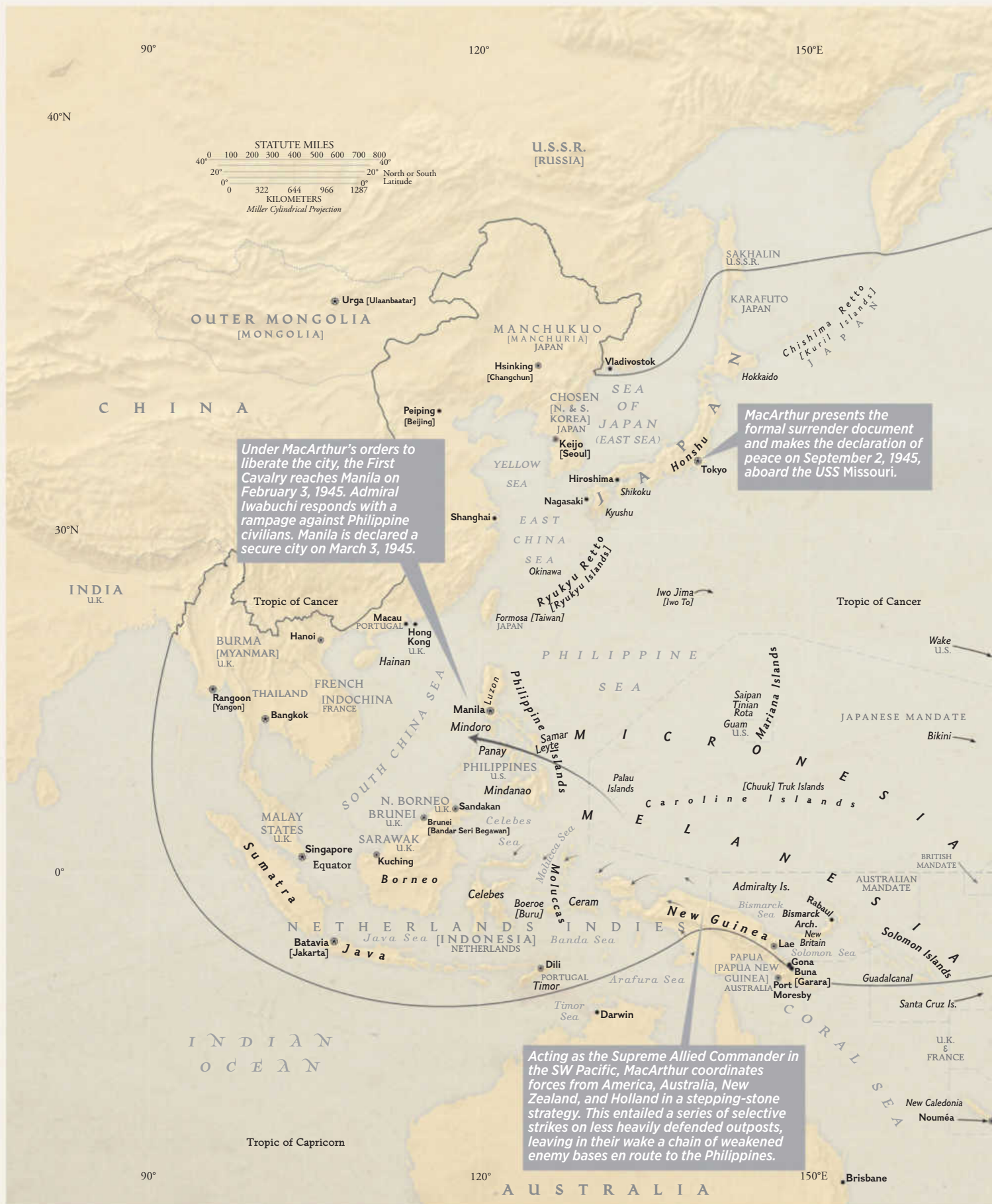


THE MOBING OF "MAC"

An overly enthusiastic fan is restrained as MacArthur's motorcade passes through adulatory crowds in San Francisco, April 1951.

BETTMANN/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS





Under MacArthur's orders to liberate the city, the First Cavalry reaches Manila on February 3, 1945. Admiral Iwabuchi responds with a rampage against Philippine civilians. Manila is declared a secure city on March 3, 1945.

MacArthur presents the formal surrender document and makes the declaration of peace on September 2, 1945, aboard the USS Missouri.

Acting as the Supreme Allied Commander in the SW Pacific, MacArthur coordinates forces from America, Australia, New Zealand, and Holland in a stepping-stone strategy. This entailed a series of selective strikes on less heavily defended outposts, leaving in their wake a chain of weakened enemy bases en route to the Philippines.

PACIFIC THEATER

1942-45



ON OCTOBER 20, 1944, General MacArthur began a campaign to take control of the southwest Pacific. On that day, he waded ashore on the Philippine island of Leyte and delivered his famous declaration to the Filipino people: "I have returned." American forces would reach Luzon in February 1945, and the Philippines' capital city, Manila, was secured in a month. The military campaign continued with strategic attacks on Pacific islands farther north, striking Iwo Jima in February and Okinawa in April. Beginning in March, American B-29s began firebombing Japan's major cities, including Tokyo, in a series of attacks that lasted three months. In late July, an ultimatum for Japanese surrender was issued. If the nation

failed to come to terms, then "The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction." Japan did not yield. On August 6, American forces dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Three days later, another fell on Nagasaki. The devastation finally caused Japan to surrender. On September 2, 1945, General MacArthur accepted Japan's formal surrender aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, saying: "We have known the bitterness of defeat and the exultation of triumph, and from both we have learned there can be no turning back. We must go forward to preserve in peace what we won in war."



Ötzi the Iceman: Stone Age Crime Scene

Five thousand years ago, a man died on a mountaintop, and a mystery was born. Entombed in ice and snow, his remains lay preserved for millennia until 1991. Scientific study of his body has yielded numerous discoveries, but questions about the manner of his death still linger.

September 1991 turned out to be hotter than normal in the Austrian Alps. Helmut and Erika Simon, a German couple with years of mountaineering experience, were just starting a perilous descent on the Ötztal Alps on the Austro-Italian border. The Simons had made it to the summit, an altitude of more than 11,500 feet, and decided to come down using a challenging, alternative route.

After descending through plunging gorges and rocky overhangs, they found themselves looking over a narrow ravine, flooded with meltwater from the glaciers. On their way down, they suddenly spotted a brown object protruding from the slushy ice. Helmut thought it looked a little like a doll,



but on drawing closer, the couple found themselves looking at the head and shoulders of a corpse.

Beside the dead body were a few objects: some kind of case, apparently made from bark, and a little farther away lay what appeared to be a blue ski binding. Helmut and Erika assumed that the body must have been a skier who died in an accident years before. The couple completed their descent, returned to their hostel, and reported their

findings to the owner, who contacted the Italian and Austrian police.

Recovering the Body

The following day, officials flew in a helicopter to the Alpine site but were unable to extract the body. For three days, they worked using picks, ski poles, and even a pneumatic drill (one of the officers accidentally damaged the left hip and thigh of the body and its clothing), but the ice would not yield.

As the police continued their efforts, they noticed near the body a strange assortment of objects that didn't appear to belong to a modern-day skier: pieces of leather, string, and clumps of hay. After finally freeing the frozen remains, they all recognized they had a mystery on their hands. Who was this man?

Reinhold Messner, an experienced Italian mountaineer who had climbed up to see the body, observed certain details at the scene that

FOLLOWING A FAILED ATTEMPT, Ötzi is finally freed from the ice. A tool used in the earlier efforts had damaged the body, especially the left hip.



1991

Two German mountaineers come across Ötzi's body during a hike in the Alps near the Austria-Italy border.

2001

Radiologist Paul Gostner discovers an arrowhead lodged in Ötzi's shoulder blade, suggesting a violent death.

2010

An autopsy reveals Ötzi died from a blow to the head delivered shortly after he ate a last meal of alpine ibex, a wild goat.

2015

Using nanotechnology, a new analysis of Ötzi reveals traces of the oldest human red blood cells ever detected.

TWO ARROWS WITH FLINT HEADS DISCOVERED IN THE QUIVER CARRIED BY ÖTZI. SOUTH TYROL MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, BOLZANO, ITALY
ROBERT CLARK



SYGMA/CORDON PRESS

piqued his curiosity. The body looked strange to him: The skin was leathery and tough. Messner raised the intriguing possibility that this was no recent accident and that the body could have been there for hundreds or perhaps thousands of years. Whatever its exact age, he felt certain that they were dealing with an important archaeological discovery—a case to be solved by

archaeologists rather than the police.

Gathering Clues

The rumors surrounding the mysterious body soon reached Konrad Spindler, director of the Institute of Prehistoric Alpine Research at the University of Innsbruck. Once the body was freed from the ice, he went to Innsbruck's Institute of Forensic Medicine to see it,

ÖTZI'S LIFE: NASTY, BRUTISH, AND SHORT

WHEN HE DIED, ÖTZI suffered from a wide range of health problems, even though he was estimated to be 45 years old. Scientists found problems typically seen in much older people today: worn joints, hardened arteries, gallstones, and tooth decay.



ROBERT CLARK

AN ALPINE TOMB

Here, in September 1991, Helmut and Erika Simon saw the figure of Ötzi jutting out from melting ice.



GERHARD ZWINGER/SCHÖNER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

along with the collection of tools found strewn around. Among the recovered items were a quiver with arrows, a leather hat, a copper ax, and a birchbark pouch container with embers to make fire.

These objects intrigued Spindler, especially the ax. Spindler noted it was a typical Bronze Age design dating to around 2000 B.C. But the rest of the possessions found with the body were cruder, suggesting the man may have lived in an

even earlier period than initially thought.

To answer the question of when he lived, scientists turned to carbon-14 dating. Two separate laboratories, one in Zurich, Switzerland, and the other in Oxford, England, assessed the body's bones and tissues. Both labs confirmed an astonishingly early date: 3000–3200 B.C.

Identifying the Body

Named for the Ötztal Alpine range, which had been his tomb for 5,000 years, Ötzi's body became the subject of intense scientific study. But more questions arose than answers. Who was the Iceman, how did he live, and how did he die?

Analysis of the tools when he died led Spindler to be fairly certain that Ötzi had lived somewhere in the Venosta Valley, a day's walk from where he was found. Certain objects discovered in tombs in the region, such as stone axes, had been dated to the same time period as Ötzi. Flints and copper axes of a similar design had also been found near Merano, just over the Italian border.

Another clue to Ötzi's identity came from studies in the field of paleobotany. Caught in the iceman's clothes were fragments of a primitive variety of wheat that had been cultivated in the valleys surrounding the

Ötztal mountains. In addition, the place where Ötzi's corpse was found lay on an ancient path used by herds-men to move their livestock to high summer pasture and back down for the winter months. The researchers concluded that Ötzi must have belonged to an agricultural and herding community based in the valley.

But all these results gave rise to another tantalizing question: If Ötzi had indeed been an experienced herdsman, what could have caused his death in a place he must have known so well?

Murder Most Foul

A series of x-rays were carried out and incisions

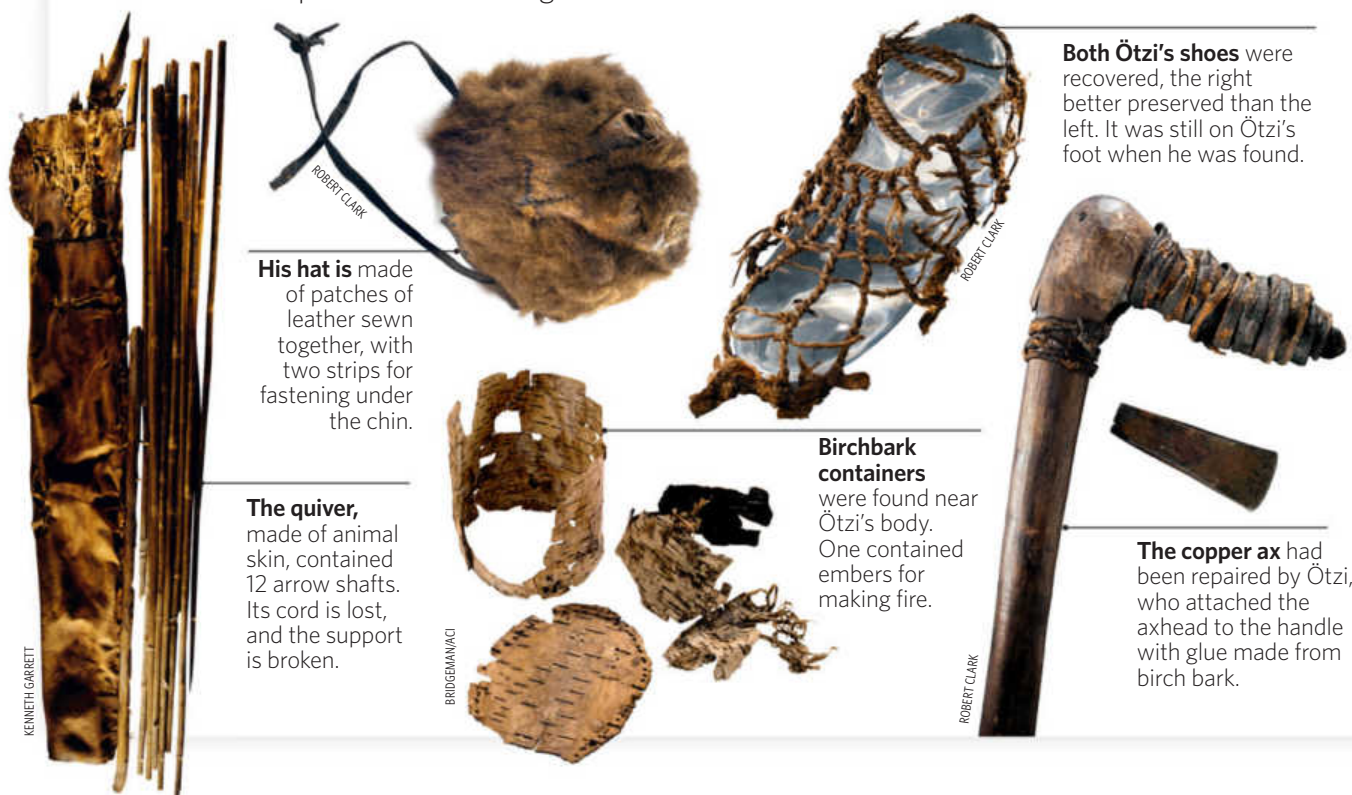


RECONSTRUCTION
OF ÖTZI. ALFONS AND
ADRIE KENNIS

ROBERT CLARK

The Iceman Cometh Prepared

ÖTZI'S TOOLS AND CLOTHING show he was well prepared for mountain life. He was wearing warm clothes: a hat, a cape made of plant fibers, socks made of cord, and shoes made of hay and hide. He carried weapons and firemaking tools.



His hat is made of patches of leather sewn together, with two strips for fastening under the chin.

The quiver, made of animal skin, contained 12 arrow shafts. Its cord is lost, and the support is broken.

Birch bark containers were found near Ötzi's body. One contained embers for making fire.

Both Ötzi's shoes were recovered, the right better preserved than the left. It was still on Ötzi's foot when he was found.

The copper ax had been repaired by Ötzi, who attached the axhead to the handle with glue made from birch bark.

made into the thorax. These tests revealed four broken ribs on the right side that had not had time to heal. Ötzi must have sustained the injury shortly before death. A cut on his right hand had started to form scar tissue. Another detail that attracted researchers' attention was the apparent disarray in which his tools were found.

Were his injuries caused by an accident or something more sinister? An early theory suggested Ötzi had been forced to flee his village, packing his tools in a hurry.

Time, however, ran out for researchers in Innsbruck. The authorities ruled that as Ötzi had been dis-

covered on the Italian side of the border, the Iceman and all his belongings had to be moved to Italy, where they have remained in the South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology ever since.

There, scientists analyzed the corpse using computed tomography and DNA analysis. In 2001, radiologist Paul Gostner discovered an arrowhead lodged in Ötzi's left shoulder. Could Ötzi's death have been a case of neolithic homicide?

Later tests supported this hypothesis, especially in 2010 when neurologists discovered a buildup of blood around the stem of Ötzi's brain, suggesting a major trauma to the head. This evidence suggests that that he

was attacked on the mountain, perhaps managing to escape with only a wound at first, before being hunted down and killed later.

These developments supported a theory of murder, but other findings indicated that Ötzi might not have been fleeing when he was attacked. Analysis of Ötzi's stomach shows that it contained grains and ibex, a wild goat. This belly full of meat suggests that Ötzi did not "eat and run" prior to his death but sat down to a hearty meal. Perhaps he was ambushed by his killer just after finishing dinner?

The exact circumstances that led Ötzi to his Alpine demise may never be clarified.

Yet even if we cannot be sure why he died, modern archaeological techniques tell us enough to be able to construct a reasonable hypothesis as to what happened in his last, violent moments: Someone shot an arrow at him, piercing his shoulder blade. He fell, sustained a crushing injury to the head, lost consciousness, and bled to death on the mountainside. The climatic conditions of the Alps did the rest, encasing the body with snow, preserving the Iceman in the ravine in which he was finally discovered, more than 5,000 years later, on a warm September day in 1991.

—Carme Mayans

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ROME: THE BEGINNING OF THE END

THE SACK OF ROME by Germanic Visigoth troops in A.D. 410 was the first time in eight centuries that the imperial capital had been occupied by enemies. The three-day spree of looting and burning terrified Roman citizens. Attempts to ally with the Germanic Visigoths failed to stabilize the weakening city. The center could not hold: More than 60 years after the fateful sack, the Western Roman Empire collapsed. What brought the once mighty empire to its knees?



Akhenaten: Revolutionary Pharaoh

Having enforced worship of a single god, Akhenaten's name was erased from the annals by his successors. Was this derided pharaoh a religious fanatic or a shrewd statesman?

Socrates: Death With Honor

Accused of corrupting the youth of Athens, Socrates was condemned to drink poison. He has been revered ever since, both for the rigor of his thinking and the dignity of his death.

The Great Wall

Snaking for thousands of miles across China's northern hills, the country's most emblematic monument is a marvel of the Ming era. But how effective was it in keeping out invaders?

Under Construction: The White House

The White House is one of the most recognized structures in the United States, but building the Executive Mansion would take nearly a quarter of a century.

REAL PIRATES: GREED, BRUTALITY, AND GOLD

ALTHOUGH PIRACY is as old as seafaring itself, the popular image of pirates in books and films hails from the 18th century. Previously, imperial tensions between England and Spain produced privateers such as Sir Francis Drake. From 1715, private piracy boomed with entire pirate "republics" thriving in coves across the Caribbean. Recruits were drawn as much by unemployment as by greed for gold doubloons (right). Later, British naval might took on the buccaneers, who steadily dwindled to become legendary figures of salty tales ever since.





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